

FROM CONVIVIAL PASTIME TO NATIONALIST PROPAGANDA:  
A HISTORY OF THE SECULAR PARTSONG IN GERMANY *c*1780–*c*1815

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Balázs Mikusi

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Balázs Mikusi, Ph. D.

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The topic of this dissertation had long been a blank spot in the historiography of German music. I seek to explore the reasons for this omission, and provide a general overview of the social, intellectual and musical factors that determined the practice of multipart lied performance in Germany in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. In contrast to earlier historians, I emphasize the importance of collective performance throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>-century lied repertory, and propose that choral singing of entire lieder and particularly refrains may have been much more common than contemporary printed editions might at first suggest. This fact seems relevant, since it was precisely such choral refrains that started to call for more than one vocal part after around the mid-1760s. Following the relative demise of polyphonic singing in the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the partsong proper reappeared as late as the 1780s, in part arguably influenced by the newly-defined *Volkslied* which came increasingly to be viewed as inherently harmonic and polyphonic in the last two decades of the century.

My central and longest chapter surveys a number of contemporary vocal treatises to explore how choral singing evolved into both a preeminent musical goal of vocal pedagogy and a powerful didactic tool in its own right. I also provide an overview of the most influential trends palpable in the early partsong repertory through brief analyses of a number of representative pieces. Given that male choral singing gained special importance with the spread of *Männergesangvereine* in the later course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a longer section is dedicated to the factors that influenced

the aesthetic views regarding men's choral singing. In conclusion I examine the connections between the partsong repertory and the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century rise of German nationalism, and identify Carl Maria von Weber's *Lützow's wild hunt* as the paradigmatic example of a nationalist male choir with a mesmerizing effect on the larger masses.



## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Balázs Mikusi studied musicology at the Liszt Academy (now University) of Music in Budapest. He arrived at Cornell University in 2002 as a Fulbright student, and entered the degree program the following year. From 2006 to 2008 he was pursuing dissertation research in Berlin with the support of a DAAD fellowship. Besides numerous Hungarian publications, he is author of several English-language articles on Joseph Haydn's music (*Eighteenth Century Music*, *Journal of Musicological Research*, *Ad Parnassum*, *Studia Musicologica*), "exoticisms" in the works of Mendelssohn and Schumann (*Nineteenth-Century Music*, *The Musical Times*), Mozart's borrowings (*The Musical Times*, *Mozart-Jahrbuch*) and Bartók's Scarlatti reception (*Studia Musicologica*). Since January 2009 he has been Head of Music at the National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

*türelmes szüleimnek*

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Since the c1780–c1815 history of German partsongs had been a blank spot in music historiography, an extended stay in the midst of the primary sources in Germany was absolutely essential. A generous research grant from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) was therefore most welcome, and I am also indebted to Professor Hermann Danuser for assisting me during my stay in Berlin. Finally, I would like to thank the staff of the music collection at the Berlin *Staatsbibliothek*, who went beyond the call of duty in an effort to help me find all the sources relevant for my work.

Besides all the above professional assistance, however, I owe the most to my parents who provided me with a safe background throughout my student years. In acknowledgement of their unflagging support, this dissertation is dedicated to them.

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## INTRODUCTION

### COMING TO TERMS

This dissertation has a fairly long title, which, however, may still require further explanation. The term “partsong” is itself somewhat problematic, as a brief survey of relevant music lexis illustrates. The 1969 second edition of Willi Apel’s *Harvard Dictionary of Music* defines “part song” as

[a] choral composition in homophonic style, i.e., with the top part the sole carrier of the melody. The term is commonly understood as an antonym of the madrigal, with its emphasis on polyphonic texture, and therefore applies chiefly to choral works of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as were written by Schumann, Mendelssohn, Parry, Stanford, Elgar, and many others. [...] Sometimes the term is used quite differently, i.e., for the truly polyphonic songs of the pre-madrigal period.<sup>1</sup>

Apel’s last sentence suggests some uncertainty about the exact characteristics of a partsong, so it is hardly surprising that others have sought to define the genre in less specific terms. In the 1975 edition of Oscar Thompson’s *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, for instance, the “part-song” is succinctly described as “[a]ny song for two or more voices in harmony, with or without

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<sup>1</sup> Willi Apel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 645–646.

instrumental accompaniment.”<sup>2</sup> More recent dictionaries have tended to account for both the wider, as well as the narrower meaning of the term. Thus, in the 1980 first edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* Jack Westrup suggests that a “partsong” is “[i]n theory any piece of music for two or more voices without independent accompaniment,” but immediately adds that “in common practice it is confined to secular music intended for choral singing.”<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Judith Nagley’s article for the 1983 *The New Oxford Companion to Music* also defines the “part-song” in a twofold manner:

In its broadest sense, any composition for two or more voices; more commonly, a vocal composition intended for choral rather than solo performance, tending more to homophony than to polyphony and usually without accompaniment.<sup>4</sup>

And, to quote just one more representative opinion, in the 1994 second edition of *The Oxford Dictionary of Music* Michael Kennedy also provides a double explanation, writing that a “part-song” is

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<sup>2</sup> Bruce Bohle and Oscar Thompson (eds.), *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, 10<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1975), 1631.

<sup>3</sup> Jack Westrup, “Partsong,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. XIV, 257–258 (quote 257).

<sup>4</sup> Judith Nagley, “Part-song” in *The New Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. Denis Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 1393.



[s]trictly any song written for several vocal parts, but in practice, a composition for male, female, or mixed voices (usually but not necessarily unaccompanied) which is not contrapuntal like the madrigal but has the melody in the highest part with accompanying harmonies in the other voices.<sup>5</sup>

In view of these diverse opinions, any author using the term in a scholarly context must explain how the reader is supposed to understand it. In this dissertation I shall use the term “partsong” (as regards the unhyphenated spelling I follow the *New Grove*) in its broadest meaning to describe relatively short pieces written for at least two vocal parts.<sup>6</sup> Since the topic of this dissertation is a specific period, whose concept of genre appears to have been quite flexible, I shall ignore all other, more specific

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<sup>5</sup> Michael Kennedy, *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 658–659.

<sup>6</sup> A useful discussion of earlier definitions can also be found in Mark A. Henderson’s *The German Part-Song in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (DMA dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989), 4–8. In conclusion he suggests that “a ‘part-song’ is a small-scale, self-contained vocal work for three or more voices which sets a non-liturgical text, usually has the melody in the top voice, and is predominantly or partially homophonic.” While this description may indeed prove useful for the 19<sup>th</sup>-century German repertory, I prefer a broader definition that could potentially include, say, a three-part mass movement – a piece of vocal music that is neither self-contained nor non-liturgical nor (as a rule) predominantly homophonic, but may still have much in common with countless pieces that Henderson, too, would accept into his partsong category. Besides, even though I shall examine two-voice compositions only in passing, to define the genre as being written for at least three voices suggests a stark stylistic distinction that would arguably have seemed foreign to most musicians around 1800.

stylistic implications of the term hinted at in some of the above-quoted dictionaries. As I shall discuss more than once, the presence or lack of instrumental accompaniment was by no means considered a decisive generic factor in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century; nor does it seem productive to insist on the secular nature of the genre, given that serious poems often inspired composers to apply all the “learned” stylistic means one might more easily associate with religious topics. (This also implies that the word “secular” in my title is not meant to suggest an unbridgeable gap between secular and religious works; it simply reflects a convenient narrowing down of the relevant repertory, the mere size of which appeared to make a fully comprehensive study impossible.) Besides, while the gradual shift of emphasis from (primarily) solo performance to (predominantly) choral singing is undeniable on a larger historic level, the repertory suggests no crystal-clear stylistic distinctions, and pieces were performed by whatever forces were available on a regular basis. Finally, the notion that the supposedly homophonic partsong would form an eternal binary opposition with the “inherently” polyphonic madrigal also seems untenable – as Judith Blezzard rightly remarks in the 2001 second edition of the *New Grove Dictionary*, such a claim “overlooks the textural variety of both madrigals and partsongs.”<sup>7</sup>

Having thus clarified the keyword of my title, let me turn to the rest of it. Writing in English gives one the great liberty of being able to tell “a” history – rather than “the” history – of the partsong.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, what follows is in no way a definitive narrative about “how the partsong actually developed” in the period in question. My

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<sup>7</sup> Judith Blezzard, “Partsong,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, ed. Stanley Sadie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), vol. XIX, 176–177 (quote 176).

<sup>8</sup> In my native Hungarian, a scholarly title including the term *története* (“history of”) will unavoidably assume a definite article.

interest in this project was first raised by a curious paradox, namely that secular partsongs, whose prime function at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century seemed to be “convivial pastime,” in a few decades’ time became the vehicle of one of the most important political mass movements in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Germany. Nevertheless, while this study will pay special attention to those developments inside the genre, which in some way or another “prepared” – or at least contributed to – this gradual change in function, it was an equally important goal for me to avoid writing a “prehistory.” Our knowledge about the later significance of the partsong genre can suggest intriguing new questions, but the “nationalist propaganda” is not invoked in my title to justify my studying the earlier repertory: the works I shall deal with are fascinating, and deserve attention in their own right.

Overall, this study seeks to contribute to a music-historiographical field – genre history – that appears somewhat out of fashion today. And perhaps understandably so, since the exclusive focus on a single genre may often result in a one-sided historical narrative, which all too easily forgets about the now-fashionable “context” by ignoring works outside the genre, and runs the risk of teleologically reducing earlier artworks to mere “forerunners” of later ones. Even so, the late 18<sup>th</sup>- and early 19<sup>th</sup>-century history of the partsong has received so little attention from historians that it seems high time to produce a general overview of the basic chronology and trends. Indeed, as Lars Ulrich Abraham has pointed out, our ignorance regarding the history of the partsong in Germany seems doubly ironic in view of our deep-seated respect for the chorale style: “Just as four-part, vocally conceived writing [*Satz*] is considered to this day the epitome of ‘pure’ part-writing, so should the choral

song occupy a key, rather than a marginal, position in the oeuvre of a composer.”<sup>9</sup>

While Abraham’s point is well taken, and should inspire us to make up for our ignorance regarding the genre, the traditional neglect of 19<sup>th</sup>-century partsongs is hardly surprising, and could in fact be seen as an inevitable consequence of some of the most deeply entrenched preferences of “old” musicology.

First of all, one should recall the well-known fact that the change – or rather revolution – in music aesthetics that occurred around this time questioned the long-standing superiority of vocal music, and instead placed instrumental music at the top of the aesthetic hierarchy. To be sure, this aesthetic shift did not result in a stark reduction of the amount of vocal music written and performed in Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, even though the accounts of this period by many later historians have undeniably suggested such a false impression: as Carl Dahlhaus critically noted, “an era that seems in retrospect to have been an age of opera and instrumental music was, at the time when it was ‘the present,’ dominated by nontheatrical vocal genres from the lied to the cantata to the oratorio.”<sup>10</sup> That Dahlhaus himself does not explicitly refer to the partsong in his corrective list is telling: the cantata and oratorio could raise interest by their sheer dimensions, and the solo lied – which most of us mean when simply saying “lied” – has understandably profited from the survival of many songs by

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<sup>9</sup> Lars Ulrich Abraham, “Mendelssohns Chorlieder und ihre musikgeschichtliche Stellung,” in *Das Problem Mendelssohn*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Bosse, 1974), 79–87 (quote 84): “Wie der vierstimmige, vokal gedachte Satz bis heute als Inbegriff ‘reiner’ Satzkunst gilt, so müsste das Chorlied innerhalb des Gesamtwerks eines Komponisten eine Schlüsselstellung (und nicht eine Randstellung) einnehmen.”

<sup>10</sup> Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, transl. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 5.

Schubert, Schumann, or Brahms in the canonized repertory. The partsong has had no such support, and so the disappearance of non-solo lieder (duets, trios, quartets, and so forth) from historic memory does not necessarily reflect any aesthetic shortcomings on their part. The prime reason, as Dahlhaus again points out, may have been institutional in nature, namely that “[v]ocal ensemble music was better suited for convivial pursuits than as a ‘recital’ and was thus unable to outlive a bourgeois culture in which music freely alternated with conversation and group readings.”<sup>11</sup>

While Dahlhaus’s reasoning also reminds us that “convivial pastime” was hardly a respectable activity in the eyes of most 20<sup>th</sup>-century historians, it fails to account for the long-standing neglect of another crucial part of the partsong repertory, that sung by the male choral societies, which came to serve the purposes of “nationalist propaganda” soon after their rise in the 1820s. Admittedly, this repertory has also disappeared from concert programs by now – still, it appears to me that earlier historians’ reluctance to deal with it in detail goes deeper, and reflects their embarrassment over the later course of German nationalism, and especially the rise of National Socialism in the 1930s. In any case, it is conspicuous that, while the history of German *Männergesang* prompted several studies from around 1840 to World War II, after 1945 there followed a relatively long period of silence not broken until the mid-1980s – and even then not by a musicologist.<sup>12</sup> By way of this omission, the long-

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<sup>11</sup> Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 97.

<sup>12</sup> The ice was broken by Dieter Düding’s seminal monograph *Organisierter gesellschaftlicher Nationalismus in Deutschland (1808–1847): Bedeutung und Funktion der Turner- und Sängervereine für die deutsche Nationalbewegung* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1984), which directly inspired later studies like Annegret Heemann’s *Männergesangsvereine im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur städtischen Musikgeschichte Münsters* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1992), or Dietmar

standing unease historians felt about anything that could potentially be seen as preparing Nazism contributed a good deal toward our even now highly selective understanding of music life in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Germany.

In view of all this, it seems hardly surprising that this repertory has been all but ignored in music history textbooks. It includes small-scale vocal pieces, primarily intended for convivial purposes, which “lead nowhere,” so to speak, in the historical narrative, since it found continuation in a choral tradition that musicologists also kept neglecting despite its popularity and social significance in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Germany. In addition, as we shall see several times, the partsongs of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries are stylistically closely bound to the contemporary solo lied repertory, which itself has also been given fairly little attention through most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The traditional view that it was only Schubert who “gave birth” to the “true German lied” has inspired biased accounts of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century lied repertory: scholars seemed little interested in anything that did not somehow “presage” the 19<sup>th</sup>-century developments of the genre. (Even Max Friedlaender’s magisterial study could not avoid looking for “volkstümlich” traits everywhere, or being scandalized by three-bar phrases that seemed to question the inevitability of this tendency.<sup>13</sup>) And, to make things worse, this teleological view of the history of the solo lied during the 18<sup>th</sup> century also made

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Klenke’s more general *Der singende “deutsche Mann”: Gesangvereine und deutsches Nationalbewusstsein von Napoleon bis Hitler* (Münster: Waxmann, 1998). For a brief overview of the history of research, see the editors’ preface in Otto Elben, *Der volkstümliche deutsche Männergesang* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1887), reprint ed. Friedhelm Brusniak and Franz Krautwurst (Wolfenbüttel: Mösel, 1991), vii.

<sup>13</sup> Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Cotta, 1902), passim.

the partsong appear as belonging to the superseded past, on the justly forgotten trash heap of history.

As is well known, the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century have often been described as a kind of “songless” period (*die liederlose Zeit*).<sup>14</sup> The earlier polyphonic lied had by this time lost much of its popularity; on the other hand, as Mattheson diagnosed, the strophic solo lied could not gain wider acclaim against the through-composed cantata (the artistic superiority of which Mattheson whole-heartedly confirmed, given its much wider expressive potential).<sup>15</sup> However, during the 1730s lieder started to find favor with contemporary audiences – the first step in this process was arguably the appearance and outstanding popularity of Sperontes’s “Singing Muse on the Plesse.”<sup>16</sup> From this point on, lied historians tend to tell a kind of *per aspera ad astra* story, in the course of which the solo lied, successfully freeing itself from its earlier partsong relative, gradually overcame the Italianate arias as well, then realized its true essence after Herder’s proclamation of the *Volkslied* from the late 1770s on,

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<sup>14</sup> Already in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Karl Ernst Schneider’s *Das musikalische Lied in geschichtlicher Entwicklung: das strophische Stimmungslied* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1865) labeled this period as “poor in lieder” (*liederarm*). The more radical *liederlose* adjective apparently owes its popularity to Hermann Kretzschmar; see his *Geschichte des neuen deutschen Liedes. I. Theil: Von Albert bis Zelter* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 140–161.

<sup>15</sup> See Johann Mattheson, *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft, bestehend in den auserlesensten Haupt- und Grund-Lehren der musicalischen Setz-Kunst oder Composition* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1737), 94–95.

<sup>16</sup> Sperontes [Johann Sigismund Scholze], *Singende Muse an der Plesse* (Leipzig, 1736). Besides numerous re-editions, three sequels also appeared under the same title in 1742, 1743 and 1745, respectively.

and eventually found its proper – *volkstümlich*, but at the same time eminently subjective – voice with the arrival of Schubert. This narrative has of course inspired little understanding of the partsong genre: the latter appeared a mere relic of the past, which had at the very start been ousted by a superior new species that went on to dominate the world of vocal music. But even apart from its teleological stance, this story ignores the fact that partsongs by no means disappeared for good with the 17<sup>th</sup> century – the famous *Augsburger Tafel-Confect*, for one, includes fascinating examples as late as the 1730s.<sup>17</sup> The piece “Riddle” from the 1733 first volume is a particularly intriguing example with its dialogue-like passages (mm. 1 and 5; see Example 0.1), whose transparent part-writing seems at odds with the crude parallel octaves between the lower voices at the end (mm. 7–8). To be sure, as Hans Joachim Moser has demonstrated, such pieces can best be understood as late survivors of a tradition that indeed flourished primarily in the previous century.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, the fact remains that such pieces could of course have been performed side by side with solo songs that ostensibly represent a “later stage” in the development of the lied genre.

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<sup>17</sup> *Ohrenvergnügendes und Gemüthergötzendes Tafelconfect*, 4 vols. (Augsburg: Lotter, 1733–1746) reprinted in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vol. XIX, ed. Hans Joachim Moser (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1969). As Friedlaender has inferred, the first three volumes (1733–1737) were compiled by Valentin Rathgeber, while the fourth probably by someone else.

<sup>18</sup> Hans Joachim Moser, *Corydon: Geschichte des mehrstimmigen Generalbassliedes und des Quodlibets im deutschen Barock*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2 vols. (Braunschweig: Henry Litolf, 1933), reprint (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966), vi.



Canto I  
Sag her/ 1. Sag her/was ist doch auf der Welt/das best so al-len wohl-ge-fällt/ sag

Canto II  
Sag her/ 1. Sag her/was ist doch auf der Welt/ das best so al-len wohl-ge-fällt/ sag

Basso  
1. Sag her/ sag her/ sag her/ was ist doch auf der Welt/das best so al-len wohl-ge-fällt/ sag

Cembalo

The first system of the musical score for 'Rätsel' features four staves. The vocal staves (Canto I, Canto II, and Basso) are in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The Cembalo part is in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are written below the vocal staves, indicating the beginning of the song with 'Sag her/' and '1. Sag her/was ist doch auf der Welt/das best so al-len wohl-ge-fällt/ sag'.

her/ mein kanst es wis-sen/ Wol-lust/ Höfl'-keit/ nein nein/ das best ist

her/ mein kanst es wis-sen/ Reich-thum/ Klug-heit/ nein nein/ das best ist

her/ mein kanst es wis-sen/ sag her/ Nein/ nein/ nein/ nein/ das best ist

The second system continues the musical score. The vocal staves show the continuation of the lyrics: 'her/ mein kanst es wis-sen/ Wol-lust/ Höfl'-keit/ nein nein/ das best ist' for Canto I, 'her/ mein kanst es wis-sen/ Reich-thum/ Klug-heit/ nein nein/ das best ist' for Canto II, and 'her/ mein kanst es wis-sen/ sag her/ Nein/ nein/ nein/ nein/ das best ist' for the Basso. The Cembalo part provides harmonic support.

auf der Welt/ so GOtt und al-len wohl-ge-fällt/ ein red-li-dies Ge-wis-sen.

auf der Welt/ so GOtt und al-len wohl-ge-fällt/ ein red-li-dies Ge-wis-sen.

auf der Welt/ so GOtt und al-len wohl-ge-fällt/ ein red-li-dies Ge-wis-sen.

The third system concludes the musical score. The vocal staves sing 'auf der Welt/ so GOtt und al-len wohl-ge-fällt/ ein red-li-dies Ge-wis-sen.' for all parts. The Cembalo part continues with the same harmonic accompaniment.

**Example 0.1** Anonymous, “Rätsel,” in Valentin Rathgeber (ed.), *Ohrenvergnügendes und Gemüthergötzendes Tafelkonfect*, vol. I (1733).

Yet another problem that results from our traditional, teleological understanding of 18<sup>th</sup>-century lied is that, as I have already hinted, we tend all too easily to equate the terms “lied” and “solo lied.” (Walther Dürr seems to stand alone in having explicitly written a history of “The German solo lied in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>19</sup>) This approach does not merely sweep aside the whole repertory of partsongs, it also ignores the fact that the presence of a single vocal line in the score does not necessarily imply performance by a solo voice. To cite the most obvious example, few 18<sup>th</sup>-century musicians would have doubted that a chorale melody should optimally be sung by a number of voices in unison, rather than by a single soloist. By the same token, many simple lied melodies that we traditionally think of as “solo songs” could potentially have been sung by a group of people. Indeed, in the prefaces of 18<sup>th</sup>-century lied collections, the idea of collective performance is often hinted. In 1737 Johann Friedrich Gräfe explained that he preferred melodies “written in a way that they can easily be sung by every singer”;<sup>20</sup> the preface by Carl Wilhelm Ramler and Christian Gottfried Krause to the 1761 *Oden mit Melodien* insisted that “[r]egarding the melody, an ode must be understandable, flowing and for every throat easy to sing”;<sup>21</sup> in 1776 Johann Adolph Scheibe explained that some of the Masonic melodies

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<sup>19</sup> Walther Dürr, *Das deutsche Sololied im 19. Jahrhundert* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen’s Verlag, c1984).

<sup>20</sup> Johann Friedrich Gräfe, *Samlung verschiedener und auserlesener Oden von den berühmtesten Meistern in der Musik*, vol. 1 (Halle, 1737), introduction: “die Melodien sind [...] so gesetzt, dass sie leicht von jedem Sänger können gesungen werden.”

<sup>21</sup> *Oden mit Melodien*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1761), introduction: “Eine Ode muss in Ansehung der Melodie, begreiflich, fliessend, und für jeden Hals leicht zu singen seyn.” Quoted in Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. 1/1, 168. It was Friedlaender who suggested (ibid., 169) that the

he reprinted “were amended and made more comfortable for singing in company”,<sup>22</sup> while the preface to Gottlob Wilhelm Burmann’s *Liederbuch fürs Jahr 1787* sought to attract potential customers by assuring them that the composer “took into account the community of throats, whose fault is not precisely height.”<sup>23</sup> Needless to say, such claims have often been cited in the literature, but they typically have been read as statements of primarily aesthetic significance; as a kind of abstract rhetoric shoring up the proclaimed simplicity of the ideal lied melody. However, there is no good reason why we should thus separate aesthetics from actual performance practice: for much of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century lied repertory collective performance (i.e. singing in choral unison) seems to make perfect sense. One may again invoke the chorale as an obvious example: when Krause wrote in 1753 that “[t]he more [people] a lied is composed for,

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anonymous authors must have been Ramler and Krause. In this context one should also recall that, at this relatively early date, the terms lied and ode were considered fully interchangeable. Marpurg himself made this clear in one of his *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* (dated 7 July 1759; vol. 1, 21): “Ich verstehe unter den Wörtern *Lied* oder *Ode*, die ich vermischet gebrauche, nachdem mir eines eher als das andere einfällt, was die Franzosen unter *Chanson* verstehen.”

<sup>22</sup> Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Vollständiges Liederbuch der Freymäurer mit Melodien* (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1776), xi: “Es sind [...] verbessert, und zum gesellschaftlichen Singen bequemer gemacht worden.”

<sup>23</sup> Gottlob Wilhelm Burmann, *Liederbuch fürs Jahr 1787: Freunden und Freundinnen des Klaviers und Gesanges zum Neujahrsgeschenk übergeben* (Berlin: P. Bourdeaux, 1787), foreword: “weil ich [...] Rücksicht auf die Allgemeinheit der Kehlen nahm, deren Fehler eben nicht Höhe ist.”

as with the church songs, for example, the easier the melody must be,”<sup>24</sup> he did not have an endless succession of solo performances in mind, as most lied historians seem to.

Hence I propose we abandon the old stereotype that 18<sup>th</sup>-century lieder were as a rule performed by lonely females sitting at their keyboard and singing for themselves. This image is merely another of those misconceptions that derive from our traditional focus on the Romantic lied repertory and its late-18<sup>th</sup>-century Wertherian “forebodings,” and should not be projected back onto the whole of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, it seems difficult to overlook that the new vogue of the lied after the “songless period” was to a great extent inspired by a growing interest in refined conviviality. As Krause and Ramler suggested in their much-quoted preface to their 1753 collection of “Odes and melodies,”

[o]ne finds already now that our compatriots do not drink any more in order to get drunk, and do not sit at the table in order to force masses of food into themselves. In our capitals we start to keep well-mannered societies. We live together with many people sociably, rather than merely with our family. We take walks in avenues, in the fields, in gardens. And what is more natural on these occasions than that one sings? But people do not want to sing serious lieder, for they gathered in order to suspend their seriousness.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Christian Gottfried Krause, *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voss, 1753), reprint (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1973), 116: “Für je mehrere nun ein Lied componiret wird, wie zum Exempel, die Kirchengesänge, je leichter muss die Melodie seyn.”

<sup>25</sup> *Oden mit Melodien*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1753), foreword: “Schon jetzt sieht man, dass unsere Landesleute nicht mehr trinken, um sich zu berauschen, und nicht mehr bey Tische

To be sure, the editors' view about the eating and drinking habits of their compatriots appears to be slightly idealistic, if not downright wishful thinking. Nevertheless, their emphasis on the diverting and convivial function of *lieder* seems in harmony with the contemporary repertory, much of which celebrates friendship, the joys of life (whether in the city or in the country), love, and especially the drinking of wine. This last topic was in fact given great attention in the contemporary theoretical literature as well. Görner, for example, reprinted a historical essay as a kind of appendix to his 1744 "Collection of new odes and *lieder*," which insisted that the preponderance of drinking songs among those surviving from ancient Greece indeed reflected their dominance even at the time of their composition: "All others were sung more seldom, since they were generally restricted to specific occasions."<sup>26</sup> Ramler and Krause also suggested

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sitzen, um sich eine Menge Speisen aufzudringen. Wir fangen in unsern Hauptstädten an, artige Gesellschaften zu halten. Wir leben mit mehrern Leuten gesellig, als blos mit unserer Familie. Wir gehen spazieren in Alleen, in Feldern, in Gärten. Und was ist bey diesen Gelegenheiten natürlicher, als dass man singt? Man will aber keine ernsthaften Lieder singen; denn man ist zusammen gekommen, um seinen Ernst zu unterbrechen." This passage is quoted in Friedlaender's *Das deutsche Lied* as well (vol. I/1, 116), but the text he provides differs in several details from the above version. Apparently, the preface was subject to revisions in subsequent reprints of *Oden und Melodien*, and the copy I consulted in the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (call number: Mus. O. 17.426) transmits a slightly amended later version.

<sup>26</sup> Johann Valentin Görner, *Sammlung neuer Oden und Lieder*, vol. II (Hamburg: Johann Carl Bohn, 1744), appendix, 6: "Alle andern wurden seltener gesungen, weil sie gemeiniglich in besonderen Umständen eingeschränket waren." Görner names a certain De la Nauze as author of the essay, which

that it was their fourth type of lied, which “originates during merry-making, and is the expression of quick gaiety,” that commended by far the most attention from the Greeks;<sup>27</sup> and Johann Christoph Gottsched went even further by suggesting that those ancient convivial gatherings were in fact the birthplace not merely of the lied, but indeed of poetry altogether:

So I surmise that poetry came into being approximately as follows. When a cheerful person of good nature had heated up his blood and livened up his life-spirit at table or through hard drinking, he rose up to sing with joy, and to show his pleasure also through certain words pronounced thereby. He lauded the sweetness of the wine, he praised the mountain or vine on which it grew; one surely also lauded the good vintage, the fertile time, or the god that yielded such fruits.<sup>28</sup>

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was reprinted once again in 1759 in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg’s musical journal *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (vol. IV, 427–486 and 487–497).

<sup>27</sup> *Oden mit Melodien*, vol. I (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1761), foreword: “Die vierte Gattung entspringt unter den Vergnügungen, und ist der Ausdruck der schnellen Fröhlichkeit.” Quoted in Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. I/1, 168.

<sup>28</sup> Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Leipzig, 1751), reprint (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962), 82: “Ich muthmasse also, dass die Poesie etwa folgender massen entstanden sey. Wenn ein muntre Kopf, von gutem Naturelle, sich bey der Mahlzeit, oder durch einen starken Trunk, das Geblüt erhitzt und die Lebensgeister rege gemacht hatte: so hub er etwa an, vor Freuden zu singen, und sein Vergnügen auch durch gewisse dabey ausgesprochene Worte zu bezeigen. Er lobte die Süßigkeit des Weines, er pries den Berg, oder Stock, darauf er gewachsen;

Even though the above passages all explicitly refer to ancient Greece, their relevance for mid-18th-century Germany would be difficult to deny, given that in these first decades of the new lied renaissance as well the genre was typically cultivated at convivial gatherings. And to assume that the countless lieder about the joys of wine, women and song would always have been performed by a solo singer, while the rest of the company was standing about in silence appears plainly absurd – especially since both the simple melodies and the strophic form of such lieder must easily have allowed at least the more musical members of the company to join in. So, instead of a lonely female figure at the keyboard, it is an informal group of several people that we should imagine in the typical performance of many mid-18th-century songs. And even if terms like *angenehmer Zeitvertreib* or *Vergnügen* become less common on the title pages from the 1770s on, the idea that lied collections should present “a valuable contribution to the pleasantries of the company and human life” retained its currency well into the 19th century.<sup>29</sup> If so, one should keep in mind that many songs that may look like “solo lieder” on the sheet could easily have been sung by numerous people in unison.

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man erhob auch wohl das gute Jahr, die fruchtbare Zeit, oder diejenige Gottheit, die dergleichen Früchte hervorgebracht.”

<sup>29</sup> See Johann Abraham Peter Schulz’s preface to the second edition of his *Lieder im Volkston* (Berlin: Georg Jacob Decker, 1785): “ein schätzbarer Beytrag zu den Annehmlichkeiten der Gesellschaft und des menschlichen Lebens.” Quoted in Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. 1/1, 257. I cite Schulz’s phrase, precisely because his *Lieder im Volkston* were among the few 18<sup>th</sup>-century songs that retained their popular influence in the following century as well.

I shall return to these thoughts in Chapter 1, but must briefly elaborate on the remaining two qualifications in my title, those regarding time and place. I have long hesitated what time frame to specify for my study. While *c1780* fairly well describes the “historic moment” when the first secular partsongs appear in the song collections I was able to consult, *c1815* does not imply a similar caesura in the history of the genre, and so this latter date should rather be seen as a compromise derived in part from political history (the Vienna Congress) and the history of the solo lied (Schubert’s *Erlkönig*, among others). An earlier date seemed inappropriate, for I would have found it unfortunate not to account for such significant developments as the foundation and early history of Carl Friedrich Zelter’s *Liedertafel*, or the composition and astonishing popularity of Carl Maria von Weber’s first patriotic partsongs in the 1810s. At the same time, it would have been impracticable to venture as late as the 1820s, which saw the rapid rise of the male choral movement, and with that an immense enrichment of the relevant repertory – these developments await detailed examination in a separate study yet to be written.

With respect to geography: my reference in the title to “Germany” of course hints at a formation politically non-existent during the period in question. Thus, I should clarify that my intention was to identify those lands where German lieder were composed, but exclude Switzerland and Austria, whose partsong traditions have long remained distinct from the developments in other German-speaking lands (even though – as I shall spell out in some detail in Chapters 3 and 5 – their undeniable influence on the German “mainstream” is of great relevance).



## CHAPTER ONE

### THE CHORAL REFRAIN TRADITION

#### Görner and the Masonic Thread

As I argue in the Introduction, much or most of what historians usually describe as “solo lieder” must typically have been sung in a convivial environment that easily allowed for performance by several people. In this light, it is little surprise that some popular lieder strove to make things easier for the majority as well by including a refrain that tended to be musically simpler than the rest of the strophe, and featured the same (or almost the same) text throughout the poem. Johann Valentin Görner’s “Collection of new odes and lieder” appears to be the first contemporary song collection to feature several pieces of this kind; the arguably most intriguing of these is “The advantages of foolishness” (*Die Vorzüge der Thorheit*; see Example 1.1), which concludes the first volume published in 1742.<sup>1</sup>

Like all the other lieder in Görner’s collection, *Die Vorzüge der Thorheit* is set to a text by Friedrich von Hagedorn, who himself described it as *Rundgesang* in the title. This term (as I shall spell out later on) implies that the slow first section of each strophe is sung by a soloist, while the ensuing fast refrain is performed chorally. (That this implication may not have been clear to all contemporaries is suggested by the fact that Görner avoided the term *Rundgesang* altogether in the second and third volumes

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<sup>1</sup> Johann Valentin Görner, *Sammlung Neuer Oden und Lieder* (Hamburg: Felginers Wittwe & J. C. Bohn, 1742). Görner’s songs are also available in modern edition in vol. LVII of *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, ed. Wilhelm Krabbe (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917).

**Langsam.**

1. Den To - ren ist ein Glück beschie - den, das vie - len klugen Leu - ten fehlt.  
 Die Her - ren sind mit sich zu - frie - den und ha - ben im - mer wohl ge - wählt.)

Was hilft es auch, nach Weis - heit schnap - pen, die oft dem Wir - bel we - he

tut? Den To - ren ste - hen ih - re Kap - pen so zier - lich, als ein Do - ctor - hut.

**Hurtig**

Der Tor - heit un - ver - jäh - te Rech - te Er - stre - cken sich auf je - des Haupt:  
 Es ist im mensch - li - chen Ge - schlechte ihr An - hang grö - ßer, als man glaubt:

Doch, wenn sie nicht Ver - gnü - gen bräch - te, so wär' ihr schon die Macht ge - raubt.

**Example 1.1** Johann Valentin Görner, “Die Vorzüge der Thorheit,” in *Sammlung neuer Oden und Lieder*, vol. I (1742).

of his collection, which label such refrain passages plainly as “Chor.”<sup>2</sup>) Accordingly, while each of the solo sections present the description of a particular kind of foolishness, the starkly contrasting choral refrains reveal each of these for what it is, and pronounce collective judgment over those who fall prey to them. As Horst Gronemeyer has noted, this opposition between the variable and the stable sections of the strophe is atypical (for the function of the poetic refrain is as a rule to confirm what we have heard before).<sup>3</sup> Görner’s setting masterfully realizes this ambiguity on a musical level as well. The refrain starts with an unmistakable variation of the opening of the strophe: the melody of mm. 1–2 is faithfully paraphrased in mm. 12–14, and even the continuation of the respective passages is similar in outline (cf. mm. 3–4 and mm. 15–17). At the same time, however, a sharp contrast is created by a change of virtually all other musical parameters: in the refrain the meter is 2/4 instead of *alla breve*, the tempo fast rather than slow, and the G minor is altered to G major. This last aspect seems especially intriguing: as Wilhelm Krabbe has suggested, this may be “one of the first examples of a thematic change of major and minor in the history of the solo lied.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. the songs *Das Beispiel* and *Das Heidelberger Fass* in the 1744 second volume, as well as *Die Schule* in the 1752 third volume.

<sup>3</sup> Horst Gronemeyer, “Die Funktion des Kehrreims in Hagedorns Liedern,” in *Studien zum deutschen weltlichen Kunstlied des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Gudrun Busch and Anthony J. Harper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), 235–246 (quote 235).

<sup>4</sup> See the foreword to *Georg Philipp Telemann Vierundzwanzig Oden und Johann Valentin Görner Sammlung neuer Oden und Lieder* [*Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, vol. LVII], ed. Wilhelm Krabbe (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917), xv: “in der Geschichte des Sololiedes eines der ersten Beispiele für einen thematischen Wechsel von Dur und Moll.”

Whether or not this example has such historical significance, Görner's choral refrains have indeed long been considered a crucial step in the development of German lied. As Hermann Kretzschmar has suggested,

[t]his little innovation had a great impact: it is thanks to it that the secular choral song was revived through the Berlin School. Görner's closest supporters became the freemasons who appeared with their own lodge-lieder right after the new recovery of their order. Nevertheless, the first collection of nine songs, published in 1746, exhibits neither alternating singing nor choir. But the second one [...] follows Görner's system number by number, and the preface puts the strongest emphasis on the "alternation in singing."<sup>5</sup>

Admittedly, it is not clear in what sense Kretzschmar used the term *Chorlied* here – whether he only meant choral songs in unison, or perhaps true partsongs as well. In any case, as I shall discuss below, choral refrains indeed proved a convenient “point of

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<sup>5</sup> Hermann Kretzschmar, *Geschichte des neuen deutschen Liedes. I. Teil: Von Albert bis Zelter* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 221: “Diese kleine Neuerung hat eine grosse Wirkung gehabt: ihr danken wir es, dass das weltliche Chorlied durch die Berliner Schule wieder belebt wurde. Görners nächste Stützen wurden die Freimaurer, die sofort nach dem neuen Aufschwung ihrer Orden mit eigenen Logenliedern hervortraten. Die erste im Jahre 1746 veröffentlichte, neun Nummern enthaltende Sammlung kennt allerdings weder Wechselgesang noch Chor, aber die zweite [...] schliesst sich Nummer für Nummer dem System Görners an und die Vorrede legt auf die ‘Abwechselung im Singen’ den stärksten Nachdruck.” The second Masonic song collection that Kretzschmar refers to is Johann Adolph Scheibe's *Neue Freymäurer-Lieder, mit bequemen Melodien* (Copenhagen: Franz Christian Mumme, 1749).

attack” for the appearance of three- and four-part writing later on. At the same time, Kretzschmar’s interpretation of the role the freemasons may have played in popularizing the choral refrain may easily be putting the horse before the cart.

To be sure, the publication of Görner’s first volume in 1742 indeed predates the appearance of the first collection of German Masonic lieder in 1746.<sup>6</sup> However, Görner himself lived in Hamburg, and while we cannot explicitly connect him to the Masonic movement, he may easily have had some contact with members of the first German lodge, which was founded in that very city on 6 December 1737.<sup>7</sup> The place is hardly surprising: due to its location and intensive maritime trade Hamburg had exceptionally strong connections with England, the fatherland of modern freemasonry. And, speaking of musical influences, it is worth noting that Dr. James Anderson’s *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons* appeared as early as 1723, and its appendix includes a few musical excerpts as well: a verse from the Master’s Song, and another from the Warden’s Song. These two pieces represent the earliest Masonic music we are aware of, and both of them end with passages explicitly intended for a “Chorus” in two parts.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, there is ample evidence that these songs – and the musical practice of the first lodge generally – were seen as examples to be followed on the Continent. The c1744 La Chapelle collection did not merely try to reconstruct

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<sup>6</sup> Although this 1746 volume of *Freymäurer-Lieder* names no concrete place or publisher, it is usually referred to as the Altenburg collection.

<sup>7</sup> See Ferdinand Runkel, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Deutschland*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing, [1931]), 103.

<sup>8</sup> Anderson’s music examples are reprinted as Appendix 1 in Malcolm Davies, *The Masonic Muse: Song, Music and Musicians Associated with Dutch Freemasonry 1730–1806* (Utrecht: Royal Society for Music History of The Netherlands, 2005).

(apparently from memory) the melody of the Master's Song, but included choral refrains in each of its four songs; Jacques-Christophe Naudot went as far as to write choral refrains for three vocal parts already in 1737.<sup>9</sup> Given that the first Hamburg lodge also closely followed the English model, whilst its official language was French, it is difficult to believe that the practice of alternating singing would not have played some role during their rituals. If so, Görner may not have had to "reinvent" the choral refrain, but simply import it into his German *lieder* directly from the Masonic repertory. Such a connection is all the more likely, given that most of the early Masonic *lieder* are virtually indistinguishable from the rest of the contemporary drinking-song repertory; the kind of reform that strove to give much greater emphasis to moral and philosophical considerations commenced only a generation later.<sup>10</sup>

Be that as it may, from the 1740s on the choral refrain became increasingly popular among composers of German *lieder*. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach was especially intrigued by its formal possibilities, as his 1753 setting of Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim's "Intention" (*Vorsatz*) testifies (see Example 1.2).<sup>11</sup> Even though Gleim's poem consists of two strophes, Bach decided to treat them as one: the last word of the first (*bald*) is sung to a half cadence in the dominant in m. 12, and leads seamlessly on to the second strophe. The true formal divisions are thus defined by the phrases intended for chorus (*Alle*): all three of these are sung in unison (even the

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<sup>9</sup> These songs are also reprinted in Davies, *The Masonic Muse*, as Appendix II.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Davies, *The Masonic Muse*, 203.

<sup>11</sup> First published in Carl Wilhelm Ramler and Christian Gottfried Krause, *Oden mit Melodien*, vol. I (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1753), 19. This publication gives no clue regarding the author of either text or music, both of which were identified later in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's journal *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* 1 (1754–1755), 56.

**Example 1.2** Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, “Vorsatz,” in Christian Gottfried Krause and Carl Wilhelm Ramler (eds.), *Oden mit Melodien*, vol. I (1753).

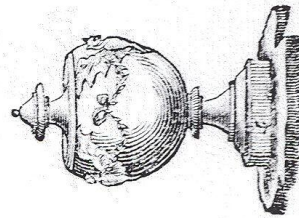


[illegible]

## XVIII.

Den flüchtigen Tagen  
Geht keine Gewalt;  
Die Räder am Wagen  
Einfleichen nicht so bald.

Wie Misse verfliehet,  
So sind sie dahin.  
Ich will mich vergnügen,  
So lang ich noch bin.





instrumental bass joins in), and include textual repetition of the preceding lines. At the same time, the music seems to take no notice of the text repetition by first presenting a new melody (mm. 5–8), bringing that back as a kind of rhyme at the end with a different text (mm. 23–26), and inserting a (yet again non-repeating) punctuation in the middle (mm. 17–18).

This degree of discrepancy between the form of the text and that of the music is by no means usual among the lieder of the First Berlin Lied School,<sup>12</sup> though Bach himself presented us with a longer, if less complicated, example in another one of his Gleim settings, “The host and the guests” (*Der Wirth und die Gäste*), which first

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<sup>12</sup> The term “Berlin Lied School” (*Berliner Liederschule*) appears to have become wide-spread after Bernhard Engelke’s “Neues zur Geschichte der Berliner Liederschule,” in *Riemann-Festschrift: Gesammelte Studien: Hugo Riemann zum sechzigsten Geburtstage überreicht von Freuden und Schülern*, ed. Carl Mennicke (Leipzig: Max Hesse, 1909), 456–472. As early as 1865, however, Karl Ernst Schneider’s lied monograph already spoke of a certain “Berlin school,” even differentiating a later phase of it (*spätere Berliner Schule*) to include composers like Carl Friedrich Zelter, Ludwig Berger, and Bernhard Klein; see Schneider’s *Das musikalische Lied in geschichtlicher Entwicklung: das strophische Stimmungslied* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1865), 92. In the more recent literature, the early period (c1750–c1780; including C. P. E. Bach, Carl Heinrich Graun and Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, among others) is mostly labeled “First Berlin Lied School,” while the following three decades or so – those dominated by Johann Friedrich Reichardt and Zelter – are dubbed “second” (which should in fact make Berger and Klein constitute a “Third Berlin Lied School”).

appeared in 1766, and became popular enough to see two more editions even around 1790.<sup>13</sup>

Besides Bach's ingenious efforts, it is Adolph Carl Kuntzen's *Lieder* that deserve special mention from among the early examples of choral refrains. In the introduction to the third volume of his *Lieder zum Unschuldigen Zeitvertreib*, Kuntzen explained that "in merry companies several of these new songs can be sung with good effect chorally," and attached a detailed list that specifies optional choral repetitions for twelve out of his twenty-five *Lieder*.<sup>14</sup> As Johann Hennings has suggested, Kuntzen probably knew Görner in person, and may have been inspired by his example.<sup>15</sup> If so, it seems particularly interesting that, while each of Görner's choral refrains was sung to a text that could plausibly have been uttered by a collective, Kuntzen also proposes choral performance for passages written in the first person singular (as did C. P. E. Bach in the above example). Whether such cases should be seen as examples of carelessness on the composers' part is seriously to be doubted: the sheer number of similar examples later on suggests rather that Görner's practice

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<sup>13</sup> The piece is reprinted in Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1/2 (Stuttgart and Berlin: Cotta, 1902), 123–127. For details about the later editions, see Gudrun Busch, *C. Ph. E. Bach und seine Lieder* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1957), 77.

<sup>14</sup> Adolph Carl Kuntzen, *Der Lieder zum unschuldigen Zeitvertreib zweyte Fortsetzung* (London: Johann Christoph Haberkorn, 1756), reprint ed. Eitelfriedrich Thom (Michaelstein / Blankenburg: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1990), foreword: "dass verschiedene dieser neuen Lieder in muntern Gesellschaften, mit guter Wirkung vom Chor eingestimmt werden können."

<sup>15</sup> Johann Hennings, "Adolf Karl Kuntzen und seine Lieder 'Zum unschuldigen Zeitvertreib'" *Musikforschung* 3 (1950), 66–72 (quote 66).

remained an early exception, whereas the majority came to regard the grammatical “I” as a meaningful expression of what “we” meant to say.

### **Implied Choruses**

In view of Kuntzen’s preface, which specifies inner choral repetitions for songs that might otherwise look like “normal” solo lieder, one is tempted to ask if the use of choral refrains might have been more wide-spread than the printed lied collections seem to suggest. As discussed in the Introduction, apparent “solo lieder” must often have been sung chorally, but the performance practice of this repertory must have been highly flexible in other respects as well. While theorists insisted that a true lied melody should be able to stand alone, without any kind of accompaniment, composers were well aware that “in Germany one wants to have lieder that can not only be sung, but also played at the clavier.”<sup>16</sup> And “playing at the clavier” seems not to have been restricted to merely accompanying the voice: as Johann Wilhelm Hertel remarked in 1760, “one does not always sing such lieder, but sometimes plays them only on the clavier, while in one’s thoughts one imagines the words, as well as the passion, that dominates in it.”<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, even if the keyboard part came to be notated with

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<sup>16</sup> Carl Heinrich Graun, *Auserlesene Oden zum Singen bey dem Clavier*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Arnold Wever, 1761), foreword: “Weil man in Deutschland Lieder haben will, die nicht allein gesungen, sondern auch auf dem Claviere gespielt werden können.”

<sup>17</sup> Johann Wilhelm Hertel, *Musik zu vier und zwanzig neuen Oden und Liedern aus der Feder des Herrn Johann Friedrich Löwen* (Rostock: Verlag der Koppischen Buchhandlung, 1760), foreword. Quoted in Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. 1/1, 133: “Man singt solche Lieder nicht allezeit, sondern man spielt sie zuweilen nur auf dem Clavier, in dem man sich die Worte und die Leidenschaft, die in solchen herrschet, dabey in Gedanken vorstellt.”

increasing precision (due to the great number of amateurs “who know of *Generalbass* hardly more than its name”<sup>18</sup>), more able keyboard players no doubt improvised a good deal, thus adjusting the accompaniment to the particular mood of each of the strophes. And to mention just one more performance option, as early as 1746 the foreword to the second volume of *Musikalischer Zeitvertreib* suggested that “if you are keen on variety, *let a middle voice sing the accompaniment*, whenever its character permits that.”<sup>19</sup>

It appears that mid-18<sup>th</sup>-century musicians saw in the score of a lied a mere starting point, which could offer a wealth of options to the performer(s). And if one recalls the convivial atmosphere in which many of these songs were sung, the idea that Kuntzen’s preface may in fact be a rare written document about a practice otherwise widespread at the time seems difficult to resist. Lorenz Mizler’s “A good friend [is] the best pleasure” (*Ein guter Freund das beste Vergnügen*), which appeared in the 1741 second volume of his “Collection of select moral odes,” provides a fairly

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<sup>18</sup> Friedrich Gottlob Fleischer, *Oden und Lieder mit Melodien* (Braunschweig & Hildesheim: Ludwig Schroeders Erben, 1756), foreword: “Allein freylich ist die Anzahl derer Liebhaber, welche von dem Generalbass nicht vielmehr, als den Nahmen wissen, sehr gross.”

<sup>19</sup> *Des Musicalischen Zeitvertreibs zweyter Theil welchen man sich bey vergönten Stunden auf dem beliebten Clavier mit einem angenehmen Accompagnement der Violine oder Flaute traversière durch Singen und Spielen auserlesener Oden vergnüglich machen kan* (Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1746), foreword. Quoted in Friedländer, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. 1/1, 103: “Bist du der Veränderung ergeben, *so lasse das Accompagnement durch eine Mittel-Stimme singen*, so oft es die Beschaffenheit desselben verstatten will.” Friedländer notes that this suggestion could hardly have been realized in actual performances, given the strongly instrumental character of the voice in question.

**Example 1.3** Lorenz Mizler, “Ein guter Freund das beste Vergnügen,” in *Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden zum Nutzen und Vergnügen der Liebhaber des Claviers*, vol. II (1741).

18

Ein guter Freund das beste Vergnügen.

1. Mein Vergnügen heist auf Erden, Ein vertrauter Freund allein: Wenn ich den kan habhaft werden, So stimmt Herz und Lippen ein, Und die Lösung ist das Pfand: Freundschaft ist das schönste Band.

2. Hier giebt sich ein holdes Gesein, Tausendfacher Anmuth an, Wo man stets die Zuckerrosen, Der Vergnügung brechen kan, Und ein recht gelobtes Land: Freundschaft ist das schönste Band.

3. Strebt vor mir nach eitlem Guts, Blinde Thoren spät und früh: Mir ist gar nicht so zu Muth, Diß verlohnt sich wohl der Müß; Was ist Geld? ein glatter Sand. Freundschaft ist das schönste Band.

4. Andre mögen sich mit Sorgen Um des andern Günst bemühen, Und von Abend bis an Morgen, In dem Liebesjoch ziehn. Mir beliebt kein solcher Tand: Freundschaft ist das schönste Band.

5. Lieben ist ein stetes Leiden, Das manch heimlich Weh geiebt, Und bey seinen seltenen Freuden, Tausendummer mit sich führt, Ein vernünftiger Zuckerfand. Freundschaft ist das schönste Band.

6. Freundschaft kan aus allen Sachen, Wenn der Liebe Garm zerreis, Honigseim aus Wermuth machen, Der mit lauter Anmuth speist; Sie haßt allen Urbestand: Freundschaft ist das schönste Band.

7. An ihr tref ich aller Orten, Ein so groß Vergnügen an, Das ich gar mit keinen Worten, Nicht genug beschreiben kan. Dieses Reichthum stiehet niemand: Freundschaft ist das schönste Band.

8. Nichts soll meinen Sinn besorgen, Wahre Freundschaft soll allein, Auf der Welt hier mein Vergnügen Und der feste Wahlspruch seyn, Der mir allen Harm entwandt: Freundschaft ist das schönste Band.

straightforward example (see Example 1.3).<sup>20</sup> The first phrase closes on a half cadence in m. 8, the second phrase brings simple repetition (thus also concluding on the dominant), and even though the third phrase does start somewhat more actively in the melody, in the end it also leads into a half cadence. This stockpiling of imperfect cadences lends special weight to the last phrase, which reaches a tonic cadence at last, and pronounces the thesis of the poem: “Friendship is the most beautiful bond” (*Freundschaft ist das schönste Band*). Since this phrase of the text remains unchanged in all eight strophes, and the melody is simple in the extreme, the whole company could easily have joined in with the solo singer, who performs the rest of the strophes. Needless to say, I am not proposing that this song was specifically intended for this kind of performance by its composer; the lied also makes perfect sense if the soloist takes on the refrain as well. Still, the possibility of alternating performance is clearly present, and even those hearing the lied for the first ever time could no doubt have “learned their part” by the third or the fourth strophe.

Overall, I would argue that it was less the presence or lack of an explicit reference to “Chor” in the score than the form of the poem itself that suggested the possibility of a choral refrain. Johann Adolph Scheibe clearly thought this way, since in the 1749 preface to his “New Masonic lieder” he noted that

[f]irst one sings alone, then they all sing. The structure of the verses already shows in most lieder, how they should be sung according to such an alternation. Of those, however, in which this is not actually indicated, I have to

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<sup>20</sup> See Lorenz Mizler, *Sammlung auserlesener moralischer Oden zum Nutzen und Vergnügen der Liebhaber des Claviers*, vol. II (Leipzig: author, [1741]), reprint ed. Dragan Plamenac (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag, 1972), 18.

remark that they can nevertheless be sung with a certain alternation, which I find the most suitable to the structure of the text.<sup>21</sup>

If so, the great number of lieder with some sort of refrain in the mid-18<sup>th</sup>-century repertory strongly suggests that unison choral singing could have been everyday practice in many a convivial gathering. To be sure, one can find several examples wherein the refrain text is musically not sharply marked off from the rest of the strophe, which could have made the entrance of the choir problematic. Nevertheless, the majority of the settings do separate the poetic refrain in one way or another musically as well, especially in cases where the repeated text phrase stubbornly draws the same conclusion from each of the strophes, like “My taste is like that,” or “Oh the fool! One has to send him to school.”<sup>22</sup> The popularity of such texts is difficult to overestimate: in 1757 W. A. T. Roth went so far as to publish a volume of lieder, only

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<sup>21</sup> Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Neue Freymäurer-Lieder*, preface. Quoted in Kretzschmar, *Geschichte des neuen deutschen Liedes*, 221: “Es singet bald einer allein, bald singen sie alle. Die Einrichtung der Verse zeigt auch in den meisten Liedern schon, wie sie nach solcher Abwechslung zu singen sind. Von denen aber, wo solches nicht eigentlich angezeigt ist, muss ich bemerken, wie sie dennoch nach einer gewissen Abwechslung, die ich der Einrichtung der Worte am gemässesten halte, können gesungen werden.”

<sup>22</sup> The first of these characteristic refrains – *Mein Geschmack ist einmal so* – appears in the poem *Mein Geschmack* by Johann Adolph Schlegel (father of August Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel), while the second – *O der Thor! Man muss ihn in die Schule schicken* – in Friedrich von Hagedorn’s *Die Schule*. Both texts are published in the 1753 first volume of Carl Wilhelm Ramler’s and Christian Gottfried Krause’s *Oden mit Melodien* (cf. note 11), and both settings – the first by Georg Philipp Telemann, the second by Krause himself – allow for, if not actually invite, choral refrain.



two of which lacks a refrain of some sort.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, Johann Hennings has proposed to call these refrain lieder “couplets” after the fashion of early 20<sup>th</sup>-century French cabaret songs, which also built their whole dramaturgy on the long-postponed utterance of the same short statement at the end of each strophe.<sup>24</sup> While Hennings’s terminology – in this sense of the word “couplet” – is rather anachronistic, it does seem correct at least from a geographical point of view, for composers of this repertory appear to have thought of these songs as being inspired by French music. As Ramler and Krause explained in the foreword to the 1755 second volume of their “Odes with melodies,” they felt obliged to omit a number of rather popular lieder.

These are odes that cannot break off; which threaten to exhaust their entire material; odes with epigrammatic endings, where one starts already at the third line to prepare a very splendid ending for the eighth line. [...] You will say: but the vaudeville, especially the one with recurring last lines, is surely not such a lied? No, indeed, it is not; it is a vaudeville, that is, a song of the lowest kind, to which you can grant a place, if it is not too long and does not present itself in a loutish manner. The music, the mixed society, the finest taste that demands variety, the wise who wants temporarily to be a fool, tolerate the vaudeville. If it is too long, the joke becomes forced, and the frequent repetition soon even nauseous.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> W. A. T. Roth, *Lieder aus der Wochenschrift: Der Freund, mit Melodien* (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1757).

<sup>24</sup> Hennings, “Adolf Karl Kuntzen und seine Lieder,” 70.

<sup>25</sup> Karl Wilhelm Ramler and Christian Gottfried Krause (eds.), *Oden mit Melodien*, vol. II (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1755), foreword: “Es sind Oden, die nicht aufhören können, die ihre ganze

For modern readers, it may seem difficult to fathom what the crucial difference between “odes with epigrammatic endings” and vaudevilles could have been. Perhaps the editors simply wished to avoid offending a great part of their audience, who were no doubt enthusiastic about the ubiquitous refrain lieder. And as will become clear, the popularity of refrain structures did not abate in the following decades, and in fact reached its peak around the turn of the century.

### **Singing in Parts**

I have dealt at length with the practice of unison choral refrains not merely because this aspect of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century lied repertory has received little attention, but because it was apparently such refrains that first inspired composers to set at least a section of their lieder for more than a single vocal line. The earliest such songs I am aware of appear in the second volume of Krause’s “Lieder of the Germans with melodies,” which was published in 1767.<sup>26</sup> Whether the inclusion of the three lieder in question

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Materie zu erschöpfen drohen; Oden mit epigrammatischen Schlussfällen, wo man schon bey der dritten Zeile anfängt einen sehr glänzenden Schluss für die achte Zeile vorzubereiten. [...] Sie werden sagen: aber das Vaudeville, besonders das mit den wiederkehrenden Schlusszeilen, ist doch wol kein solches Lied? Nein, in der That, das ist es nicht; es ist ein Vaudeville, das heisst, ein Lied von der niedrigsten Art, dem Sie eine Stelle vergönnen werden, wenn es nicht allzulang ist und sich nicht pöbelhaft aufführt. Die Music, die vermischte Gesellschaft, der feinste Geschmack, der abwechseln will, der Weise, der zur Zeit ein Thor seyn will, dulden das Vaudeville. Ist es zu lang, so wird der Witz gezwungen und die öftere Wiederholung wird gar bald eckelhaft.”

<sup>26</sup> See Christian Gottfried Krause (ed.), *Lieder der Deutschen mit Melodien*, vol. II (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1767), 28–30, 55–57 and 58–59.

might have been meant as a kind of “essays in choral refrain” experiment is unclear; in any case, it is noteworthy that each of them has a somewhat different form. “The three realms of nature” (*Die drey Reiche der Natur*) lets the soloist intone the refrain at the end of the strophe, and brings in the “Chor” only to repeat it in three parts, otherwise unchanged.<sup>27</sup> The third lied – described as “rondeau” in the score – also includes such choral repetition (now in four parts) of the soloist’s refrain; however, its form is complicated by the fact that the first two-and-a-half bars of the refrain melody are in fact identical to the beginning of the strophe itself (though the harmonization is different). But it is the second refrain song (reproduced as Example 1.4) that goes the farthest in complexity by including two different “strophes” rather than a single one. In contrast to the previous two examples, here the choir does not enter to faithfully repeat what the soloist has said immediately before: the refrain is sung only once, by the four-part chorus. At the same time, the opening eight bars of the first strophe, performed by the solo voice, are in essence identical to the refrain – it is only the very end that (due to a slight twist in m. 7) runs onto a half cadence, rather than a full one. In this light, what at first sight might look like the “first strophe” in the score could be interpreted as the first statement of the refrain (mm. 1–8) followed by a free section modulating towards B minor (mm. 9–16). Given that, like the third refrain-lied in the collection, this piece is also labeled as “rondeau” in the score, this B-minor passage could in fact rather be called a first episode. Accordingly, the section in mm. 25–45, which modulates first towards E minor, then towards F-sharp minor, and finally prepares the final return of the D-major refrain through its A-major dominant is certainly best described as a “second episode,” rather than as a kind of strophe.

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<sup>27</sup> More precisely, the choral refrain differs from the preceding solo passage only in the third (and last) strophe, which concludes with a humorous coda.

**Example 1.4** Anonymous, “Des Frühlings Ankunft,” in Christian Gottfried Krause (ed.), *Lieder der Deutschen mit Melodien*, vol. II (1767).

Fröhlich.

## Erstes Rondeau.

Des schö-nen Früh-lings Hof-fu-rier Be-rei-tet wie-der  
das Quar-tier, Und spreitet ü-ber jedes Gofen Ta-peten von be-liebter  
Zier, Durch-sickt mit Veil-chen und mit Ro-sen.

Chor.  
Des schö-nen Früh-lings Hof-fu-rier Be-rei-tet wie-der das Quar-tier.  
Des schö-nen Früh-lings Hof-fu-rier Be-rei-tet wie-der das Quar-tier.  
Des schö-nen Früh-lings Hof-fu-rier Be-rei-tet wie-der das Quar-tier.  
Des schö-nen Früh-lings Hof-fu-rier Be-rei-tet wie-der das Quar-tier.



Example 1.4 (Continued)

36

XXXIII.

Ku - pi - do lag, als wie er - starrt, Im Schnee des Fe - bru -  
des ver - scharrt: Izt tanzt er unter Apri - kosen, Und al - les ist in ihm  
ver - narrt; Ein je - - des Herz, ihm  
Lieb zu - ko - - sen, Ruft: Rauher Win - ter,  
fleuch, fleuch von hier!



Example 1.4 (Continued)

XXXIII.

57

Chor.

Des schö-nen Früh-lings Hof-fu - rier Be-ri - tet wie - der das Quar-tier.

Des schö-nen Früh-lings Hof-fu - rier Be-ri - tet wie - der das Quar-tier.

Des schö-nen Früh-lings Hof-fu - rier Be-ri - tet wie - der das Quar-tier.

Des schö-nen Früh-lings Hof-fu - rier Be-ri - tet wie - der das Quar-tier.

Des Frühlings Ankunft.

Aus einem französischen Dichter des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts.

Des schönen Frühlings Hoffurier	Kupido lag, als wie erstarrt,
Bereitet wieder das Quartier,	Im Schnee des Februars verscharrt.
Und spreitet über jedes Gosen	Jetzt tanzt er unter Aprikosen,
Tapeten von beliebter Zier,	Und alles ist in ihn vernarrt;
Durchsticht mit Veilchen und mit Rosen	Ein jedes Herz, ihm liebzuhasen
Des schönen Frühlings Hoffurier	Ruft: Reuher Winter, flieh von hier!
Bereitet wieder das Quartier.	Des schönen Frühlings Hoffurier
	Bereitet wieder das Quartier.

IV. Buch. H

To be sure, this example is exceptional: it was not pieces like this, but fairly straightforward strophic lieder with simple refrains that came to dominate the repertory in the following decades. Nevertheless, such “vocal rondeaux” draw our attention to a generic relationship that the contemporaries appear to have found more relevant than it would at first seem to the modern scholar. As I mentioned in connection with Görner’s 1742 *Die Vorzüge der Thorheit* (cf. Example 1.1), labeling a lied *Rundgesang* was one easy way to signal that it was to be sung by a solo voice and chorus in alternation. I have also pointed out that Görner himself abandoned this term in his later collections – on the other hand, during the 1780s *Rundgesang* again came strongly into favor, and became the typical “genre indication” for lieder with choral refrains. Unsurprisingly, while earlier theorists appear to have paid little heed to the *Rundgesang*, in his 1787 music dictionary Georg Friedrich Wolf already felt pressed to provide a definition for the term. Instead of writing a separate article, however, he simply referred the reader to his definition of “rondeau”:

A *rondeau* can be used for dance, singing or playing; it can stand in duple or triple meter, if only it is played *Vivace*; it consists of a few sections, after each of which the first section, which is actually called *Rondeau*, is repeated. If it is sung with a text, it is called *Rundgesang*.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Georg Friedrich Wolf, *Kurzgefasstes musikalisches Lexikon* (Halle: Johann Christoph Hendel, 1787), 134: “*Rondeau*, kann zum Tanzen, Singen oder Spielen gebraucht werden, und in geradem oder ungeradem Tacte bestehen, wenn es nur *Vivace* gemacht wird; es besteht in etlichen Abschnitten, nach deren jedem der erste Abschnitt, der eigentlich *Rondeau* heisset, wiederholt wird. Wird es mit einem Texte gesungen, so heisset es ein *Rundgesang*.”



This equation of “Rundgesang” and “rondeau” seems somewhat at odds with our understanding of the latter term. While we expect rondos to feature a number of episodes different from each other, the countless *Rundgesänge* that appeared in the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century are typically strophic lieder, whereby the refrain of the chorus alternates with the very same music of the solo voice throughout the piece. This contradiction, however, might prove illusory if one considers that our ideas about sameness and variety in a strophic lied are arguably somewhat simplistic compared to most 18<sup>th</sup>-century musicians. To be sure, as Mattheson’s critique quoted above reveals, some found the strophic lied rather clumsy and insensitive in comparison to the expressive possibilities inherent in through-composed arias.<sup>29</sup> Still, a seemingly simple, even simplistic, lied could provide great variety due to its ever-changing text, and in the case of *Rundgesänge* this effect could easily be strengthened by allotting each of the strophes to a different solo singer.<sup>30</sup> A brief description of this practice appears in E. T. A. Hoffmann’s *Tomcat Murr*, which describes the gathering during which the hero is accepted into the club of *Katzburschen*:

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<sup>29</sup> For Mattheson’s views, see Introduction, note 15.

<sup>30</sup> Indeed, some have viewed the performance of each strophe by a different singer – the “going ‘round” of the soloist’s role – as part of the definition of a *Rundgesang* proper. See, for example, August Langen, *Dialogisches Spiel: Formen und Wandlungen des Wechselgesangs in der deutschen Dichtung (1600–1900)* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1966), 112. For late 18<sup>th</sup>-century German examples, however, such a strict definition seems too rigidly prescriptive in comparison to the flexible performance practice: such songs must frequently have been performed both ways, depending on the abilities of those present.

[T]he senior Puff smote the table with a mighty paw and announced that the true, genuine song of initiation, to wit, “Ecce quam bonum,” must now be sung, and immediately struck up the chorus *Ecce*, etc., etc. I had never before heard this song. [...] But whoever wrote it, it is a great, immortal work, much to be admired for the way the solos, alternating with the chorus, allow the singers freedom for the most delightful, inexhaustible variations. I have faithfully preserved in my memory some of the variations I heard that night.<sup>31</sup>

Hoffmann indeed goes on to cite a few passages of the text, which suggests that when speaking of “variations” he might have been thinking primarily of improvised textual digressions. Nevertheless, slight modifications in the melody could also have occurred, and the change of text, as well as of singer, apparently sufficed for the audience to perceive each strophe less as a simple repetition of the same music than as something new. Admittedly, Hoffmann’s c1820 description may have only indirect

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<sup>31</sup> Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann, *The Life and Opinions of the Tomcat Murr, together with a Fragmentary Biography of Kapellmeister Johannes Kreisler on Random Sheets of Waste Paper*, transl. Anthea Bell (London: Penguin, 1999), 187–188. For the German original, see E.T. A. Hoffmann, *Lebens-Ansichten des Katers Murr: Werke 1820–1821* [E. T. A. Hoffmann *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. v], ed. Hartmut Steinecke (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1992), 266: “der Senior Puff mit gewichtiger Pfote auf den Tisch schlug und verkündete, dass nun das wahre echte Weihelied, nehmlich das *Ecce quam bonum* gesungen werden müsse, und intonierte so fort den Chor: *Ecce etc. etc.* Noch nie hatte ich dieses Lied gehört. [...] Doch gleichviel wer es gemacht hat, das Werk ist gross und unsterblich und vorzüglich zu bewundern, wie die in den Chor eingeflochtenen Solos den Sängern freien Spielraum lassen, zu den anmutigsten unerschöpflichsten Veränderungen. Einige dieser Veränderungen, die ich in dieser Nacht hörte, habe ich treu im Gedächtnis behalten.”

relevance for the performance practice of the 1780s; the idea of alternating soloists, however, appears to have been common knowledge as early as the 1740s. In the essay that was attached to the 1744 second volume of Görner's pioneering lied collection, the reader is reminded that even among the ancient Greek song repertory a distinction between two ways of performance was observed: in the first case, "everybody, who was at the table, sang in unison with each other," while in the second "all the guests at the table sang, but one after the other."<sup>32</sup>

The latter performance option must have seemed especially appropriate for those popular "couplets" – or (more cogently) "vaudevilles" – which did not present a coherent narrative, but rather consisted of a series of more or less independent strophes, each of which ended with a short refrain statement of the "moral lesson" of the poem. And even though the three aforementioned settings of 1767 with three- and four-part refrains seem to have found no direct followers in the following decade or so, when this technique started to gain greater importance from around 1780 on, it was precisely this kind of poetry that came to dominate the repertory. Johann André's "He did that well" (*Das hat er gut gemacht*), which was published in the first volume of his *Lieder, Arien und Duette* in 1780, provides an instructive example (see Example 1.5). Each of the five strophes opens with a name, and briefly tells the man's life story:

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<sup>32</sup> De la Nauze, *Abhandlungen von den Liedern der alten Griechen*, transl. H. Ebert, in Johann Valentin Görner, *Sammlung neuer Oden und Lieder*, vol. II (Hamburg: Johann Carl Bohn, 1744), appendix (quote 7): "Erster Gebrauch. Alle, die bey Tische waren, sungen einstimmig mit einander [...] Der andere Gebrauch. Nach der Zeit sungen zwar noch alle Gäste bey Tische; aber einer nach dem andern." The essay was subsequently also reprinted in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's journal *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* 4 (1758–1759), 427–497, where its source is identified as vol. IX of the *Histoire de l'Academie des inscriptions et belles lettres*.

Kli-tan-bern macht sein Reich = thum Sor-gen: der bringt ihm Geld und der will

bor : gen, und    je : ner    han : delt um    den Pacht :    D roel : che

Quaal! sie bald zu en = den, eist er sein Erb = theil zu ver = schwen = den:

Das hat er gut gemacht! das hat er gut gemacht! das = = hat er gut ge-  
das hat er gut gemacht! das hat er gut gemacht! das hat er

Das hat er gut gemacht! das hat er gut gemacht! das hat er gut gemacht! das hat er

macht;	das	hat	er	gut	ge = macht.
gut	ge macht;	das	hat	er	gut ge = macht.

gut gemacht; das hat er gut gemacht; gut gemacht. Andre'.

46

Klitander is worried because of his richness, and wastes all his fortune; Paul asks his father in vain for money, so he goes to the war and gets shot, and so forth. All five stories end in a tragic way, which André illustrates tongue-in-cheek by prolonging the D-major dominant (reached in m. 12) with a pervasive hint of G-minor throughout mm. 13–20. But if we might have started to feel some sympathy for the hero of the strophe, the entrance of the choir in G major sweeps that away with stoic indifference: whatever happened, “[h]e did that well!” In contrast to the 1767 *Lieder der Deutschen* anthology, which notated the three or four parts of the chorus on just as many separate staves, André’s song compresses all three parts into the usual keyboard notation. Nonetheless, the text underlay leaves no doubt that the refrain of the “Chor” is meant for three parts (as we shall see later on, this kind of clarity was by no means the norm, nor even frequent, in the lied collections of the period).

While this difference in notation is hardly of great significance, the stark contrast in style – poetic, as well as musical – of our previous two examples is difficult to overlook. If the choral refrain of the 1767 *Die drey Reiche der Natur* may recall the short pastoral choruses of serious French opera, *Das hat er gut gemacht* seems more closely related to German comic opera. The latter connection is by no means surprising: André himself was one of the most popular Singspiel composers of his time, and the author of his text, Christian Felix Weisse, is even considered a cofounder of the genre. Indeed, already in the very first Singspiele coproduced by Weisse and Johann Adam Hiller in the mid-1760s, the *Rundgesang* became a standard element of the finale, and other composers followed suit.<sup>33</sup> Needless to say, this finale effect was not the personal invention of either Weisse or Hiller: like many other formal aspects of

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<sup>33</sup> See Wilhelm Stauder, “Johann André: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Singspiels,” *Archiv für Musikforschung* 1 (1936), 318–360 (especially 351).

their Singspiele, these refrain lieder were modeled on the vaudeville finales of French comic opera, and were in fact often associated with French terms like *divertissement* or *rondeau* in the published score.<sup>34</sup> Besides this obvious French inspiration, however, these songs also connected seamlessly with the preexisting choral refrain tradition of the German lied (incidentally also inspired by French examples a few decades earlier), and from the 1780s on theatrical and convivial *Rundgesänge* coexisted peacefully, apparently without any strict stylistic distinction between them.

### **The Vogue of *Rundgesänge***

As mentioned earlier, the popularity of the *Rundgesang* form grew with astonishing speed from around 1780 on (a fact that may not be altogether independent of the genre's entering the stage in the increasingly popular Singspiel). Accordingly, the historian is confronted with a vast repertory, which makes it virtually impossible to highlight the development of the *Rundgesang* with a mere few examples. Therefore, Johann Abraham Peter Schulz's *Tafellied* ("Table-song," or rather "Dinner song"), which appeared in the 1790 third volume of his *Lieder im Volkston* collection, is quoted here less as a typical representative of the genre than as a personal favorite of

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<sup>34</sup> The printed vocal score of the pioneering *Die verwandelten Weiber, oder Der Teufel ist los* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1770) already features complex combinations of these elements. The third (and last) act, for example, ends with a "Schlusschor" wherein the C-major choral refrain ("Alle") alternates with solo strophes ("Allein") in A minor. Furthermore, this chorus is even preceded by a number labeled as "Divertissement. Rondeau," which also includes a refrain. For an overview of vaudevilles on the German stage, see Herbert Schneider, "Vaudeville-Finali in Haydns Opern und ihre Vorgeschichte," in *Joseph Haydn. Bericht über den Internationalen Joseph Haydn Kongress Wien, Hofburg, 5.–12. September 1982*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda (München: G. Henle, 1986), 302–309 (especially 305–306).

**Example 1.6** Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, “Tafellied,” in *Lieder im Volkston*, vol. III (1790).





mine (see Example 1.6). The text comes from Schulz's frequent collaborator and close friend, Johann Heinrich Voss, and includes a variable refrain: whereas the double statement of "Fresh! Drum on the table!" (*Frisch! Trommelt auf den Tisch!*) returns unaltered in all eight strophes, the last line of the refrain is different in each. Given that part of the point in singing a *Rundgesang* is precisely to allow the bulk of the company to participate without any kind of tiresome preparation, this textual change could possibly present a problem. Schulz's solution is to let a solo voice ("Einer") sing this phrase first in each of the strophes (mm. 19–20), thus teaching, as it were, the new poetic line to the reentering choir ("Alle," mm. 21–22). While this kind of "interrupted" choral refrain might indeed have been suggested to the composer by this practical difficulty, the twofold appearance of the word "Alle" in the score presents the performers with another question: does this second "all" indication imply four-part choir, or perhaps merely simple unison (as in mm. 15–17)? The fact that in the concluding two-bar phrase the stems are added to each note suggests that singing in four parts would be more adequate, but – in view of the flexible "realization" of lieder in the period – less musical companies may at this point have done whatever they were capable of (which could have meant three, or just two voices; if not indeed simple unison here, too). In any case, the first phrase of the refrain must have been performed fairly similarly by all companies, no doubt producing an unbearable noise through the drumming on the tables and the *trrrrring* with their tongues, which seems the whole point of this "table-song" (in the strictest sense of the word).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> When sending the poem to Schulz on 13 August 1787, Voss explained his friend how fascinating his son found precisely this onomatopoetic aspect of the *Tafellied*: "Abraham has heard the thing read out aloud, and now keeps singing with the movements of a drummer: 'Drum on the table!'" Heinz Gottwaldt and Gerhard Hahne (eds.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Johann Abraham Peter Schulz und Johann*

Although one could cite countless further *Rundgesänge* of this thoroughly convivial type, to do so would add fairly little to the picture developed thus far. Instead, I would like to draw attention to another subgenre that started to grow in importance during the 1780s. While the obvious relationship between the *Rundgesang* and the vaudeville had previously given the former a bad pedigree, by this time more and more poets, as well as composers, came to view the choral refrain form in a more “humanist” light, and rediscovered it as a tool to represent the harmony between the individual and the collective. The increasingly serious song texts of the freemasons must have been an obvious source of inspiration, and it is hardly surprising that Schiller’s *Ode to Joy*, which is arguably the best-known example of this tendency, has been interpreted as being modeled on Masonic songs.<sup>36</sup> Although this lied, as some have noted, may belong to the type “which seems so easy to set [...] but which is so difficult to render in music,” a number of composers gave a try (if not in fact several tries) at composing it.<sup>37</sup> Composers tended faithfully to adjust their music to the layout

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*Heinrich Voss* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960), 63: “Abraham hat das Ding vorlesen hören, u[nd] singt nun immer mit der Bewegung eines Trommelschlägers: Trummel auf den Tisch!”

<sup>36</sup> See Gotthold Deile, *Freimaurerlieder als Quellen zu Schillers Lied “An die Freude”* (Leipzig: Adolf Weigel, 1907), especially 50–56.

<sup>37</sup> Review of Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Schillers lyrische Gedichte in Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* [hereafter *AmZ*] 13 (1811), 24–30 (quote 27): “das so leicht zu componiren scheint [...] und das doch so schwer musikalisch wiederzugeben ist.” A later review of Peter von Winter’s setting in the same journal also concluded that “Schiller’s superb *Ode to Joy* has prompted countless compositions since its first appearance [...] and not one has satisfied. None will, either: that results from the poem according to its topic and form.” Anonymous review of Peter von Winter’s *Freude, schöner Götterfunken* in *AmZ* 20 (1818), 299–300 (quote 299): “Schillers herrliches *Lied an die Freude* hat seit

of the first edition of the text (published in 1786 in the second issue of the journal *Thalia*), which clearly marks off the last four lines of each strophe as “Chor.”<sup>38</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Rust was no exception: the two settings he published in his second collection of “Odes and lieder” both end with a “Chor” to be sung somewhat faster (*Etwas lebhafter*) than the rest of the strophe.<sup>39</sup> The first of the two settings (reproduced as Example 1.7) features a few particularly interesting instances of word-painting: while the dotted rhythms for “sword” (*Schwerdt*) in m. 11 may appear a bit “overdone,” the ties in mm. 8–10 nicely reflect the “binding” power of Joy, and the slide in the bass from A to A sharp, which bridges over the fermata in m. 14, memorably links the two halves of a single sentence. The refrain is similar to the one in Schulz’s *Tafellied* in at least one respect: phrases 1 and 3 (mm. 17–18 and 21–22) are in unison, but the notation of their continuation (mm. 19–20 and 23–25, respectively) clearly suggests four-part chorus. In this context, it should be noted that neither “Alle” (as used by Schulz in the *Tafellied*) nor “Chor” appears to have had crystal-clear terminological implications: both were used primarily to indicate the contrast to the solo voice (often labeled as “Einer”), and therefore cannot be taken as secure points of orientation as regards unison versus four-part performance. On the other hand, the term “Alle” appears to have become somewhat old-fashioned by the

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seiner ersten Erscheinung unzählige Compositionen veranlasst [...] und auch nicht Eine hat befriediget. Es wird’s auch keine: das liegt am Gedichte, seinem Stoff und seiner Form nach.”

<sup>38</sup> See James Parsons, “‘Deine Zauber binden wieder’: Beethoven, Schiller, and the Joyous Reconciliation of Opposites,” in *Beethoven Forum* 9 (2002), 1–53. In the appendix (43–46) Parsons provides a (non-comprehensive) list of settings composed between 1786 and 1824.

<sup>39</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Rust, *Oden und Lieder aus den besten deutschen Dichtern*, vol. II (Dessau: Verlags-casse für Gelehrte und Künstler, 1796), 45–46.

*Erhaben freudig.*

Einer: Freu-de, schö-nen Göt-ter-fun-ken, Toch-ter aus E-li-si-um! Wir be-tre-ten freu-de-

trun-ken, gött-li-che! den Hei-lig-thum. Dei-ne Zau-ber bin-den wie-der, was der

Mo-de Schwerdt ge-theilt; Bot-ter wer-den Für-sten Brü-der, wo dein sanf-ter Scep-ter

*mf.* (wenig gehalten und sanft verlierend.)

Chor (Etwas lebhafter)

weilt. Seyd um-schlun-gen Mil-li-o-nen! Die-sen Kuß der gan-zen Welt; Bräu-der,

*for.* (getragen und angehalten.) *for.*

li-ber im Ster-nen-zelt, muß ein gu-ter Va-ter wohn-en.

*cl. s.* (getragen) *il. forte.*

**Example 1.7** Friedrich Wilhelm Rust, “Freude, schöner Götterfunken,” in *Oden und Lieder aus den besten deutschen Dichtern*, vol. II (1796).

end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; the more popular alternative – “Chor” – was already dominant in the period when choral refrains for three and four parts started to prevail.

If settings of Schiller’s *Ode to Joy* strove to “musically realize” the perfect harmony between the individual and society via the alternation of a solo voice and a reaffirming choir, a number of other *Rundgesänge* applied the same dramaturgy to inculcate patriotic feelings in the population at large (see Chapter 5). Nevertheless, the “merely” convivial repertory also kept growing in the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – indeed, an 1802 collection, “Songs of joy and cheerfulness” appears to define the genre along these lines by talking of “*Rundgesänge*, or lieder for the cheering up of a friendly circle.”<sup>40</sup> Such a “functional” definition is all the more noteworthy, in that the forms of *Rundgesänge* showed extreme variety: the length of refrains could range from a few words to half a strophe; some implied mere repetition of the soloist’s words, while others allotted the choir the role of independent commentary; in some lieder the words of the refrain changed with each strophe at least in part, but in others completely; and even if a single choral passage at the end of the strophes remained the norm, more complex formal alternation was no rarity. Unsurprisingly, by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century some musicians came to view the *Rundgesang* less as a definite genre among simple lieder, but rather as a formal principle that could make its influence felt in larger-scale repertories. Hans Georg Nägeli published a twelve-volume collection of *Rundgesänge* in 1808–1809, and in the preface provided an apology for the breadth and complexity of some of his compositions, which others might have hesitated to label as “*Rundgesänge*” at all:

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<sup>40</sup> *Lieder der Freude und des Frohsinns zur gesellschaftlichen Unterhaltung* (Strasburg: Amand König, 1802), on the back cover: “*Rundgesänge*, oder Lieder zur Aufmunterung eines freundschaftlichen Zirkels.”

As is well known, a *Rundgesang*, in the narrowest sense, is a lied with a choral passage at the end of the strophe. In the widest sense, however, one should call *Rundgesang* each and every song [*Gesang*] in which the whole circle of singers can repeatedly participate; which goes ‘round, so to speak, sounds all around. [...] And understood thus, the importance of this genre cannot be called in question, since solo and choral singing appear in it variously connected. Seen in its possible extension, it could even be in vocal music approximately what the concerto is in instrumental music: a systematic contrasting of solo and tutti.<sup>41</sup>

If in 1787 Wolf defined the *Rundgesang* by comparing it to the instrumental *rondeau*, Nägeli’s description implies that some serious revaluation had taken place in the meantime, indeed the elevation of the genre to parity with the concerto, an

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<sup>41</sup> Hans Georg Nägeli, *Teutonia: Rundgesänge und Liederchöre*, vol. 1 (Zurich: Nägeli, 1808), iii: “Bekanntlich heisst Rundgesang in der engsten Bedeutung ein Lied, das am Schluss der Strophe eine Chorstelle hat. In der weitesten Bedeutung sollte aber ein jeder Gesang Rundgesang heissen, an dem der ganze Sängerkreis wiederholt Antheil nehmen kann, der – so zu sagen – in die Runde geht, ringsherum erschallt. [...] Und so verstanden kann die Wichtigkeit dieser Kunstgattung nicht in Zweifel gezogen werden, weil in ihr Sologesang und Chorgesang manigfaltig verbunden erscheint. In seiner möglichen Ausbreitung gedacht, wäre er sogar in der Vocalmusik ungefähr dasjenige, was in der Instrumentalmusik das Concert, eine durchgeführte Contrastirung des Solo und Tutti.” It is noteworthy that Nägeli’s narrowest definition makes no mention of the possible alternation between different soloists, and so considers the presence of a choral refrain the only necessary criterion of a *Rundgesang* proper.

instrumental genre of far greater dimensions and better reputation. Still, it was not the complex choral structures of Nägeli's pieces that had the greatest consequences for the future, but the more straightforward refrain form, which provided the basic formal idea for many of the most popular lieder of the period.

As students of 19<sup>th</sup>-century popular song generally agree, the arguably most important early source that provides a useful overview of the contemporary German repertory is Albert Methfessel's *Allgemeine Commers- und Liederbuch*, the first edition of which appeared in 1818.<sup>42</sup> Given this – in the context of the present study – fairly late date, it comes as little surprise that this collection abounds in lieder with choral refrains, which typically feature two or three vocal parts. Apparently in an effort to save his reputation as a well-educated musician, Methfessel felt compelled to include in his preface a general apology:

[I]n order to need only *one* stave, and to produce the work as simply as possible, I wanted to give the *melody* only; therefore, where a second or a third voice is also added, it is meant only as an at least *pure*, harmonic accompaniment, but the setting is not to be viewed as being in two or three parts. The more simple and natural the harmony thus created could be, the more appropriate it seemed to me.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Albert Methfessel, *Allgemeines Commers- und Liederbuch mit Melodien, enthaltend ältere und neue Burschenlieder, Trinklieder, Vaterlandsgesänge, Kriegs- und Turnlieder* (Rudolstadt: Hof-Buch und Kunsthandlung, [1818]).

<sup>43</sup> Methfessel, *Allgemeines Commers- und Liederbuch*, 1: "Ich habe nemlich, um nur *eines* Notensystems zu bedürfen, und das Werk überhaupt so einfach als möglich herzustellen, nur die *Melodie* geben wollen; wo also eine zweite oder dritte Stimme beigelegt ist, soll sie blos eine



In accordance with the above apology, Methfessel’s accompanying voices are for the most part simple in the extreme, and he indeed allows himself slightly “incorrect” part-writing, predominantly in the two-part passages. The final number of the collection, composed by Methfessel himself, provides an excellent example by presenting a variety of part-writing possibilities (see Example 1.8). The text derives from Karl August von Lichtenstein, but it is in fact built upon a famous citation – “He who doesn’t like wine, women, and song, remains a fool his whole life long” – which contemporaries believed to have come down from Luther himself.<sup>44</sup> Methfessel likewise focuses his attention on this golden rule, and sets it as a soft, memorably waltz-like duet, which is immediately and loudly repeated by the choir. This short duet brings welcome variety in the middle of the refrain: the preceding passage, which heightens our expectations by prolonging the dominant for six full measures, is set for four voices; while the last, fortissimo passage confirms Luther’s wisdom in three choral parts. Indeed, in Methfessel’s *Commersbuch* as a whole three-part writing prevails in most refrains, and this appears to have pleased the audience so much that the 1820 third edition already presents all the refrains in this form, “through which the

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wenigstens *reine* harmonische Begleitung veranlassen, der Satz aber nicht als 2 oder 3 stimmig anzusehen seyn. Je ungesuchter und natürlicher nun die so herbeigeführte Harmonie seyn konnte, desto zweckmässiger schien sie mir.”

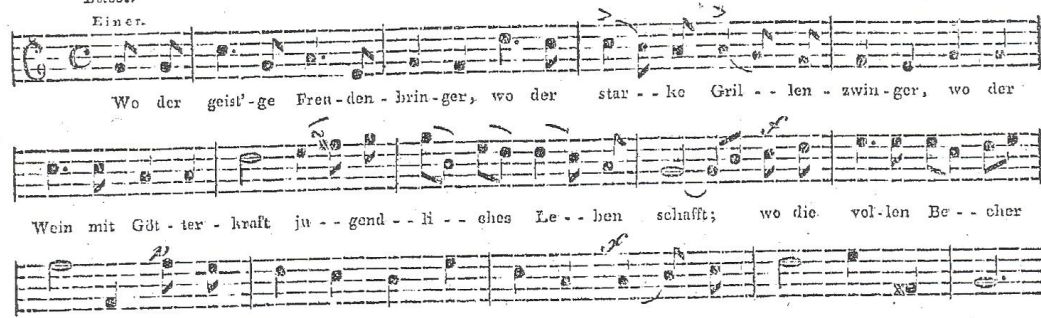
<sup>44</sup> These lines first appeared in Matthias Claudius’s *Wandsbecker Bothen* in 1775, but their likely author is Johann Heinrich Voss. See Georg Büchmann (ed.), *Geflügelte Worte: Der Citatenschatz des deutschen Volkes*, 19th edition (Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1898), 125.



## 95. Wein, Weib und Gesang.

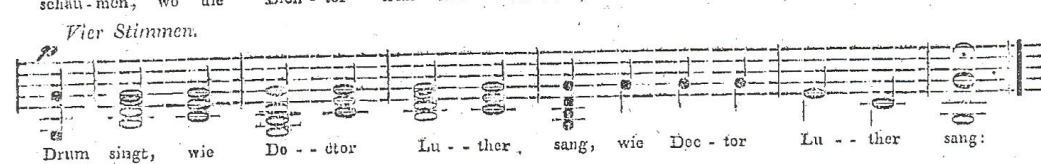
A. Methfessel.

*Belebt.  
Einer.*



Wo der geist'-ge Freu-den-brin-ger, wo der star--ke Gril-len-zwin-ger, wo der  
Wein mit Göt-ter-kraft ju-gend--li--ches Le-ben schafft; wo die vol-len Be--cher  
schäu-men, wo die Dich-ter trun-ken rei-men, füllt die Brust Le-bens--lust;

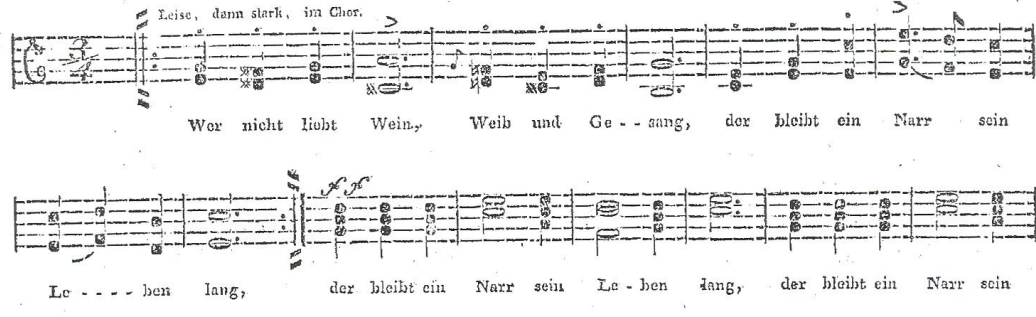
*Vier Stimmen.*



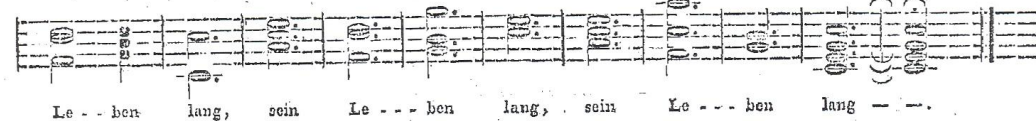
Drum singt, wie Do--ctor Lu--ther, sang, wie Doc-tor Lu--ther sang:

*Zwei Stimmen.*

*Leise, dann stark, im Chor.*



Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Ge--sang, der bleibt ein Narr sein  
Le--ben lang, der bleibt ein Narr sein Le-ben lang, der bleibt ein Narr sein



Le--ben lang, sein Le--ben lang, sein Le--ben lang --.

**Example 1.8** Albert Methfessel, "Wein, Weib und Gesang," in *Allgemeines Commers- und Liederbuch mit Melodien* (1818).

double advantage is reached that one can sing them in three parts, and if the third voice is played an octave lower, accompany them fully with the fortepiano.”<sup>45</sup>

This type of simplified accompaniment, and especially the kind of rudimentary two- or three-part writing that dominates already in Methfessel’s 1818 volume, became a model for many similar collections for a long time – indeed, many of the lieder in the *Commersbuch* are eerily similar to the rallying songs schoolchildren were taught to sing in Eastern Block countries before the fall of the Berlin wall. Rather than following the history of the choral refrain that far, however, we shall return to our chronological starting point, c1780, and examine the first fully-fledged partsongs that appeared in secular lied collections of the period.

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<sup>45</sup> Advertisement of the third edition in *AmZ* 20 (1818), *Intelligenzblatt*, 39: “Ferner sind sämmtliche Melodien *dreystimmig* gesetzt, wodurch der doppelte Vortheil erreicht ist; dass man sie dreystimmig singen, und wenn die 3te Stimme eine Octave tiefer gespielt wird, vollständig mit dem Fortepiano begleiten kann.” The review that appeared in the same journal praised this solution, emphasizing that it will suffice for the average singers, while true music-lovers will know on their own how to make the accompaniment more variable. Cf. the anonymous review in *AmZ* 20 (1818), 903–907 (especially 904–905).

## CHAPTER TWO

### REDEFINING SIMPLICITY: THE *VOLKSLIED*

#### The Rebirth of the Partsong

As we have seen in the previous chapter, secular lieder with three- and four-part refrains were apparently first published in 1767, but these examples seem not to have become common until the 1780s, the start of the grand vogue of *Rundgesänge*. In this light it is hardly surprising that one would also search in vain for secular partsongs until around 1780, and even at this point they appear as rare exceptions in lieder collections overwhelmingly dominated by solo songs. Indeed, whereas partsongs written before the mid-18th-century renaissance of solo lieder represented a fairly independent subgenre with their at times distinctly polyphonic part-writing (cf. especially mm. 1 and 5 in Example 0.1), the majority of the new partsong repertory at the end of the century evidently grows out of its solo relative, and shows but modest interest in polyphonic play. A notable exception is Johann Friedrich Reichardt's setting of Goethe's *Bundeslied*, published in 1781 in the collection "Odes and lieder by Herder, Goethe and others" (see Example 2.1).<sup>1</sup> The title of the poem – "Union-song" – already suggests that this lieder could easily invite collective performance, and the music indeed features careful part-writing: the first four bars are consistent in using three voices, and the second half of the piece includes hints at imitation in mm. 5–6 and 9–10. Nevertheless, the final cadence of the piece includes a mere two voices; furthermore, the apparent three-part writing is somewhat at odds with Reichardt's subtitle, "sung by four [people] to a young couple" (*Einem jungen Paar gesungen von*

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<sup>1</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Oden und Lieder von Herder, Göthe und andern mit Melodien bey dem Clavier zu singen* (Berlin: Joachim Pauli, 1781), 4.

**Example 2.1** Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “Bundeslied,” in *Oden und Lieder von Herder, Göthe und andern mit Melodien bey dem Clavier zu singen* (1781).

# Bundeslied. Einem jungen Paar gesungen von Vieren.

4 Männlich froh.

Den künftigen Tag und Stun = den, nicht heut dem Tag al = len,  
 Soll die = ses Lied, ver = kun = den von uns, ge = lüt = gen sein.  
 Euch bracht ein Gott zu = sam = men, der uns zu = sam = men

bracht. Von schied = len ew = gen Glan = men seyd glück = lich durch = ge = sacht!  
 Mit jedem Schritt wird weiter  
 Die rasche Lebensbahn,  
 Und weiter immer weiter  
 Steigt unser Blick hinan;  
 Und bleiben lange lange  
 Fort ewig so geküßt.  
 Ach, daß von einer Wange  
 Hier eine Wange fällt!

Den künftigen Tag und Stunden,  
 Nicht heut dem Tag allein,  
 Soll dieses Lied, verbunden  
 Von uns, gesungen sein.  
 Euch bracht ein Gott zusammen,  
 Der uns zusammen bracht.  
 Von küssen engen Flammen  
 Seyd glücklich durchgesacht!

Nicht lang in unserm Kreise  
 Ist nicht mehr neu darin;  
 Kennst schon die freie Welle  
 Und unsern treuen Sinn;  
 So bleib zu allen Zeiten  
 Herz Herzen zugekehrt;  
 Durch keine Knechtzeiten  
 Wird unser Bund gestört!

Mit jedem Schritt wird weiter  
 Die rasche Lebensbahn,  
 Und weiter immer weiter  
 Steigt unser Blick hinan;  
 Und bleiben lange lange  
 Fort ewig so geküßt.  
 Ach, daß von einer Wange  
 Hier eine Wange fällt!

Ihr seyd nun eins, ihr Beiden,  
 Und wir mit euch sind eins.  
 Auf, trinkt der Dauer Freude  
 Ein Glas des achten Weins!  
 Auf, in der golden Stunde  
 Stoßt an! und küßt treu  
 Bey diesem neuen Bunde  
 Die alten wieder neu.

Uns hat ein Gott gesegnet,  
 Rings um mit freiem Blick,  
 Und wie umher die Gegend,  
 So frisch sey unser Glück;  
 Durch Gärten nicht geträget  
 Versteckt sich keine Lust:  
 Durch Aeren nicht geengelt  
 Schlägt freyer unsre Brust.

Doch ihr sollt nichts verlieren,  
 Die ihr verbunden bleibt,  
 Wenn einen eins von Vieren  
 Das Geschick von euch treibt,  
 Ist doch als wenn er bliebe!  
 Euch keine sucht kein Blick.  
 Erinnerung der Liebe  
 Ist, wie die Liebe, Glück.

Göthe.



*Vieren*). This seeming contradiction could be resolved by, say, having two people (out the required four) sing the melody, but even this solution gives no answer to the more pressing problem, namely how the words of the poem should be fitted to the two lower voices. The text underlay seems to be concerned exclusively with the melody: the two other parts should certainly not enter in the middle of the word *künftgen* (or, on the repeat, of *dieses*) in m. 1, and they cannot catch up with the text of the top voice by the time they are supposed to cadence together in mm. 8 and 12 in the second half. All this suggests that the song originally may not have been composed for three (let alone four) parts; perhaps Reichardt intended to write a solo lied, and added his hint at its performance as a partsong only as an afterthought. Be that as it may, even this exceptionally contrapuntal lied suggests that around 1780 the partsong as such had close connections with the solo lied repertory.

A glance at another early partsong by Reichardt confirms this assessment. His setting of Höltz's "Duties of life" (*Lebenspflichten*; see Example 2.2), which appeared in his 1779 collection of "Odes and lieder by Klopstock, Stolberg, Claudius and Höltz," is in fact a solo lied "[t]o be sung in choir as well" (*Auch im Chor zu singen*).<sup>2</sup> Admittedly, this remark is in need of clarification, since the word *Chor*, as I have suggested in my previous chapter, could in principle have meant a choir in unison, rather than one in several parts. Nevertheless, the former meaning of the term appears to have been invoked primarily in contexts where it was directly contrasted with *Einer* (or, less frequently, *Solo*), while to sing a whole piece *im Chor*, as Reichardt prescribes in this case, implied a multipart chorus. Indeed, a passage from Johann Adam Hiller's 1774 *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange* suggests that

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<sup>2</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Lebenspflichten," in *Oden und Lieder von Klopstock, Stolberg, Claudius und Höltz mit Melodien, beym Clavier zu singen* (Berlin: J. Pauli, 1779), 16.

**Example 2.2** Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “Lebenspflichten,” in *Oden und Lieder von Klopstock, Stolberg, Claudius und Hölty* (1779).

## Lebenspflichten.

Ma = sen auf den Weg ge = freut, und des Harms ver = ge = sen! Ei = ne klei = ne Span = ne Zeit ward uns zu = ge = me = sen.

Heu = te hüpf im Früh = lings = tanz noch der fro = he Kna = be; mor = gen wegt der Todten = franz schon auf sei = nem Gra = be.

**M**osen auf den Weg gestreut,  
Und des Harms vergessen!  
Eine kleine Spanne Zeit  
Ward uns zugemessen.

Heute hüpf im Frühlingsstanz  
Noch der frohe Knabe;  
Morgen wegt der Todtenfranz  
Schon auf seinem Grabe.

Wenn sie führt die junge Braut  
Heute zum Altar;  
Ob die Abendvögel schaut  
Nur sie auf der Bahre.

Gehet den Harn und Grillenfang  
Gehet ihr den Winder;  
Nur bei hellem Becherfang  
Unter grünen Linden.

Lasset keine Nachtigall  
Ungehört verfluchen,  
Keine Biene im Frühlingssthal  
Unelautst entfluchen!

Schmeckt, so lang' es Gott erlaubt,  
Kuß und süße Trank,  
Bis der Tod, der alles raubt,  
Kömmt, sie euch zu rauben!

Unsern schlummernden Gekirr,  
Von dem Tod' unduldet,  
Dufte nicht der Rosenhain,  
Der am Grabe flüster;

Läset nicht der Dornesfang  
Angestofener Becher,  
Noch der frohe Mundesfang  
Weinelauner Becher!

Gölty.



around that time the term *Chor* was primarily understood as a four-part vocal piece set homophonically. In his section about vocal ensembles, Hiller first defines the *Duett* and the *Terzett* according to the number of voices participating in them, and goes on to suggest that

[f]our vocal parts prompt the name *Quartett*; but in truth four parts also amount to a *Chor*. The difference between the two is that in the *Quartett* each voice has [its] own words to perform, and must therefore sing independently most of the time, apart from certain passages in which two, three, or even all four parts can unite themselves, and sing together; on the other hand, in the *Chor* all the parts have the same words: therefore they sing always simultaneously, except when a few rests in one part or the other break up the four-part singing, and reduce the number of voices. A *Chor* can thus include as many singers as one can have, or finds necessary; but the parts of a *Quartett* must be set soloistically.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Johann Adam Hiller, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange, mit hinlänglichen Exempeln* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1774), 215–216: “Vier Singstimmen geben zu der Benennung *Quartett* Anlass; aber eigentlich machen auch vier Stimmen ein *Chor* aus. Der Unterschied unter beyden ist, dass im Quartett iede Stimme eigene Worte vorzutragen hat, und daher meistens allein singen muss, bis auf gewisse Stellen, wo zwey, drey, oder auch alle vier Stimmen sich vereinigen, und zusammen singen können; im Chore hingegen haben alle Stimmen einerley Worte: sie singen daher immer zugleich, wenn nicht etwan einige Pausen in einer oder der andern Stimme den vierstimmigen Gesang unterbrechen, und auf eine geringere Anzahl der Stimmen herab setzen. Ein Chor kann demnach auch mit so viel Sängern besetzt werden, als man deren haben kann, oder für nöthig erachtet; die Stimmen eines Quartets hingegen müssen nur einfach besetzt werden.”

In view of this, it seems easy to understand how the term *Chor* – which Hiller understood as implying four-part texture – could have been used to describe unison passages as well. In the latter case, too, “all the parts have the same words: therefore they sing always simultaneously,” and this unity was arguably best expressed through the participation of “as many singers as one can have.”<sup>4</sup> Still, there is little doubt about what Reichardt must have had in mind when adding his remark at the beginning of *Lebenspflichten*. First, because the unison singing of such a lied would have been an obvious performance option that did not have to be specified in the score. But equally so, since the piece features a carefully construed four-part structure, and in this case – thanks precisely to the homophonic writing as required by Hiller for a *Chor* – even the text underlay seems unproblematic: any of the four voices could be sung from the sheet without much preparation.

Given that Reichardt’s *Lebenspflichten* appears to be one of the earliest secular partsongs from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it might be of some relevance that this lied appears to have gained exceptional popularity. Admittedly, this fact may to a great extent be due to the composer’s modeling his melody on the well-known *Gaudeamus igitur*. Max Friedlaender went so far as to condemn Reichardt for having

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<sup>4</sup> Essentially the same definition of *Chor* is given by Christian Gottfried Krause in his *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voss, 1753), reprint (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1973), 331: “Wenn mehrere Stimmen vereint zusammen, und nicht dialogisch singen, so nennt man dieses ein Chor, oder Tutti.” Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg also differentiates between *dialogische* and *monologische* musical settings, but does not make a distinction between quartet and chorus on this basis: for him, both can have either dialogical or monological character. See his *Anleitung zur Singcomposition* (Berlin: Gottlieb August Lange, 1758), 91–92.

named himself as author,<sup>5</sup> but contemporaries appear to have had fewer scruples in this respect: an 1800 review in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (hereafter *AmZ*) blamed Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel for having tried his hand at Hölty's text, because "*Rosen auf den Weg gestreut* should not have been composed at all after Reichardt's melody, which has been known everywhere for a long time, and is, as it were, nationalized."<sup>6</sup> Whether the reviewer was aware of the relationship to the *Gaudeamus* melody or not, Reichardt's lied had by this time become a kind of classic; one wonders whether its unusual setting, which allowed for choral performance as well, could have contributed to this privileged reception history. Be that as it may, this kind of "optional" choral writing seems to connect seamlessly with the flexible performing tradition of lieder: companies which involved at least one able singer for each of the parts could perform the piece as a group, but solo performance (with instrumental accompaniment) would have proved equally appropriate under musically less favorable circumstances. In view of this, it is hardly surprising that the prescription of solo *or* choral performance remained more the rule than the exception throughout the coming decades. Reichardt's "Praise of women" (*Frauenlob*), which appears in the

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<sup>5</sup> As Friedlaender points out, the similarity of the two melodies becomes even more conspicuous if one examines the revised version of *Lebenspflichten* that Reichardt published in his 1796 *Lieder geselliger Freude* collection (here the piece is already simply labeled *vierstimmig*). See Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert*, vol. II (Stuttgart and Berlin: Cotta, 1902), 272. Regarding the contemporary popularity of the *Gaudeamus* tune, see Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. II, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Review of Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel's *Sechs Lieder von Hölty*, *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* [hereafter *AmZ*] 2 (1799–1800), 487–488 (quote 487): "*Rosen auf den Weg gestreut* hätte nach der längst überall bekannten gleichsam nationalisirten Melodie von Reichardt gar nicht komponirt werden sollen."

same collection, also bears the remark *Auch im Chor zu singen*, while Johann André, another pioneer of the partsong, advised his future customers in 1783 that his pieces “can, according to need, be sung without accompaniment, or played on the keyboard as small pieces without singing, and the lieder in several parts sung also in one part.”<sup>7</sup>

The rise of the partsong can thus be seen as a continuation of an existing tradition, as another manner of using lieder in a flexible way. However, one may also take a somewhat more evolutionary stance, and consider the appearance of choral writing as part of a kind of “reform movement.” Even if learned musicians like Mattheson had long insisted that the strophic structure of lieder prevented the composer from properly expressing the meaning of the text, the first generation of lied composers appear to have found the interaction between the recurring music and the changing words rather intriguing – as Krause provocatively asked: “Who requires that the melody should have in every strophe the same effect with respect to the musical illustration of each word?”<sup>8</sup> Still, by the 1770s more and more musicians started to consider strophic settings as insufficient: Kirnberger admitted the impossibility of perfectly adjusting the music to each of the strophes by printing only the first stanza

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<sup>7</sup> See the advertisement of Johann André’s *Neue Sammlung von Liedern mit Melodien* in Carl Friedrich Cramer’s *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), 131: “können nöthigenfalls ohne Begleitung gesungen oder ohne Gesang als kleine Stücke auf dem Klavier gespielt, und die mehrstimmigen Lieder auch einstimmig gesungen werden.”

<sup>8</sup> For Mattheson’s view, cf. note 15 in the Introduction. Krause’s rhetorical question occurs in a letter dated 11 November 1759, and published by Marpurg six days later in his *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*; see the journal’s reprint (Hildesheim: Olms, 1974), vol. 1, 169: “Wer verlangt denn, dass die Melodie bey allen Versen, in Absicht auf die musikalische Schilderung derer in jedem vorkommenden Worte, gleiche Wirkung thun soll?”

for eighteen (out of altogether twenty) of his 1773 “Odes with melodies,”<sup>9</sup> and in 1780 Daniel Gottlob Türk confessed that it was primarily financial, rather than aesthetic, considerations that made him refrain from “through-composed” (*durchkomponirt*) settings, for the inclusion of too many non-strophic songs would have made his publication much longer and consequently more expensive.<sup>10</sup> Besides, the 1770s saw the rise of increasingly complicated keyboard parts as well, and so the emergence of the partsong can also plausibly be interpreted as an effort to expand the artistic potential of the genre. Be all this as it may, the “rebirth” of the secular partsong following its decline at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was by no means an unbroken success story. As I describe more in detail in Chapter 4, the genre started to gain widespread popularity only from the late 1790s on. The prime reason for this modest growth was doubtless that partsongs may have presented the wider dilettante audience with musical difficulties they were not yet ready to master. In the long run, the solution to this problem was brought about by a thorough reform of music education (see Chapter 3). In the short run, however, the practice of singing in more than one part seems to have received support from a somewhat unexpected quarter when composers of the Second Berlin Lied School began to undermine the long-held notion that a lied is in essence a single melody that could dispense with harmony altogether.

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<sup>9</sup> Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Oden mit Melodien* (Danzig: Jobst Herrmann Flörcke, 1773).

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Lieder und Gedichte aus dem Siegwart* (Leipzig und Halle: Autor, 1780), foreword: “Unter den gegenwärtigen Liedern sind, wie der Augenschein belehret, einige, die aus mehrern nach einerley Melodie zu singenden Strophen bestehen. Die mehresten hätt’ ich freilich lieber ganz durchkomponirt; allein ich ward durch die dadurch anwachsende Anzahl der Bogen, und hieraus entstehende Erhöhung des Preises zurückgehalten.”

### **The Discovery of the *Volkslied***

The gradual change in lied aesthetics that made its impact felt from the 1770s on did not merely imply an increased interest in musical expression (via through-composition, or elaborate keyboard parts), but brought about a significant shift in poetic models as well. If in the previous decades both theorists and composers of lieder had consistently cited the French chanson as their stylistic ideal, around this time the newly coined category of *Volkslied* took over, and soon came to be widely viewed as the only model worthy of the serious attention of German composers. However, it never became wholly clear what a *Volkslied* was actually supposed to be. First of all, Herder, who coined the term, did not bother to explain whether he primarily meant “a lied *of* the *Volk*,” or one *for* it.<sup>11</sup> Even worse, the implications of the word *Volk* itself were far from obvious. To be sure, Herder insisted that “*Volk* does not mean the rabble on the streets, which never sings and composes, but shouts and mutilates”;<sup>12</sup> and Gottfried August Bürger, who was regarded as the *Volksdichter* par excellence, even elaborated that

I cannot cease considering poetry as an art practiced *by* scholars, yet not *for* scholars as *such*, but rather for the *Volk*. Into the concept of the *Volk*, however,

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<sup>11</sup> For a thoughtful overview of the origins and meaning of the term, see Walter Wiora, “Das Alter des Begriffes *Volkslied*,” *Musikforschung* 23 (1970), 420–428.

<sup>12</sup> Foreword to Part II of Herder’s *Volkslieder* collection (1778), reprinted in *Volkslieder, Übertragungen, Dichtungen* (Johann Gottfried Herder Werke in zehn Bänden, Band 3), ed. Ulrich Gaier (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), 230–248 (quote 239): “Volk heisst nicht, der Pöbel auf den Gassen, der singt und dichtet niemals, sondern schreit und verstümmelt.”

one must admit only those features shared by virtually all, or at least by the most respectable classes.<sup>13</sup>

Still, the mere fact that both pioneers of the *Volkslied* were so eager to define the *Volk* suggests that what they were in pursuit of was in fact a partial redefinition of the term, which for many indeed called the rabble to mind. Finally, the Herderian program itself proved controversial, since the exact goal of gathering and studying “folksongs” remained ambiguous: while skeptics saw the movement as merely imitating the “lieder of the *Volk*” (by which they primarily meant the streetsongs of the rabble),<sup>14</sup> advocates

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<sup>13</sup> Gottfried August Bürger, *Gedichte*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, vol. I (Göttingen: Johann Christian Dieterich, 1789), 17: “kann ich doch nicht aufhören, die Poesie für eine Kunst zu halten, die zwar *von* Gelehrten, aber nicht *für* Gelehrte, als *solche*, sondern für das *Volk* ausgeübt werden muß. In den Begriff des Volkes aber müssen nur diejenigen Merkmahle aufgenommen werden, worin ungefähr alle, oder doch die ansehnlichsten Classen überein kommen.” It was in this refined sense of the term *Volk* that Herder considered Dante a great *Volksdichter* of Italians (*Volkslieder*, 245), and Bürger described Homer as the greatest folk-poet of all peoples and times (*Gedichte*, 19–20).

<sup>14</sup> Carl Friedrich Cramer, for one, considered Bürger’s aesthetic principles fundamentally misguided; even a sort of epidemic (a *Manie des Volksgesangs*) that unfortunately went on to contaminate musicians as well. See Cramer’s review of Johann Abraham Peter Schulz’s *Lieder im Volkston* in his *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), 61–67 (quote 63). Johann Nikolaus Forkel also insisted that the *Volkslied* was “in fact no object of a history of art. Art is so little involved in it that [the *Volkslied*] can be considered to belong to this field for no other reason than that it is usually thus considered by so many.” See Forkel’s *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, vol. II (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1801), 771: “ist es eigentlich kein Gegenstand einer Kunstgeschichte. Die Kunst hat so wenig Antheil daran, dass es aus keinem

of the *Volkslieder* interpreted the role of the poet as more transformative and thus creative. Herder, for example, was well aware that “the Good is rare always and everywhere,”<sup>15</sup> and that such was the case with *Volkslieder* as well, but felt that Germans were perhaps too eager to forget about the values of their past, and live “from one fair to the other”<sup>16</sup> (that is, reading only books bought at the last fair). Bürger, too, thought that, whereas Germans have the dubious reputation of being an educated nation, all their knowledge “mostly remains dead capital,”<sup>17</sup> and so the goal of the creative artist must be to gather a kind of “living capital” by getting to know as many *Volkslieder* as possible.

[A]mong these there hardly will be any from which the ‘poet for the *Volk*’ could not learn at least something. Some of them, which I heard, had true poetic value as a whole, many others at certain points. I expect the same from many more that I have not heard. Such a collection with annotations by an expert of art! – What would I not give for it! – Of course, it would not be for

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andern Grunde in ihr Gebiet gerechnet werden kann, als weil es gewöhnlich von vielen dahin gerechnet wird.”

<sup>15</sup> Herder, *Volkslieder*, 239: “Allerdings ist überall und allezeit das Gute selten.”

<sup>16</sup> Herder, *Volkslieder*, 241: “von Messe zu Messe.”

<sup>17</sup> Gottfried August Bürger, “Herzens Ausguss über Volks Poesie [1776]” in *Bürgers Werke in einem Band*, ed. Lore Kaim and Siegfried Streller (Weimar: Volkerverlag, 1956), 316–322 (quote 316): “Es bleibt meistens totes Kapital.”



imitation in its entirety and for general reading; but for the art, for the insightful art, that would be a rich treasure-trove.<sup>18</sup>

If, as both Herder and Bürger insisted, the *lieder* one can hear among the *Volk* are by far not all excellent, the latter's suspicion toward their indiscriminate imitation is understandable. For Bürger, the primary goal was not to emulate certain turns of phrases from *Volkslieder*, but rather to explore the essence of these songs, and thereby learn about the people themselves:

One should get to know the *Volk* in its entirety, investigate its fantasy and sensitivity, in order to fill the former with appropriate images, and to strike the right caliber for the latter.<sup>19</sup>

The ambiguity of the term *Volkslied* is thus resolved by a distinction between “raw material” and “end product,” as it were: the poet should study the “*lieder of the Volk*,”

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<sup>18</sup> Bürger, “Herzens Ausguss,” 322: “worunter nicht leicht eins sein wird, woraus der Dichter fürs Volk nicht wenigstens etwas lernen könnte. Manche davon, so ich gehört, hatten im ganzen, viele in einzelnen Stellen wahres poetisches Verdienst. Ein gleiches versprech ich mir von weit mehreren, so ich nicht gehört habe. So eine Sammlung von einem Kunstverständigen, mit Anmerkungen versehen! – Was wollt ich nicht dafür geben! – Zur Nachahmung im ganzen und gemeinen Lektüre wäre sie freilich nicht; aber für die Kunst, für die einsichtsvolle Kunst würde sie eine reiche Fundgrube sein.”

<sup>19</sup> Bürger, “Herzens Ausguss,” 317: “Man lerne das Volk im ganzen kennen, man erkundige seine Phantasie und Fühlbarkeit, um jene mit gehörigen Bildern zu füllen und für diese das rechte Kaliber zu treffen.”

but his ultimate goal is to write new “lieder *for the Volk*,” which present the values inherent in folk poetry in an artistically more refined and compressed form.

This is not the place to further explore the literary vogue of the *Volkslied*; the main goal of this summary has been simply to emphasize the creative freedom of poets when writing their “folksongs.” Hence it comes as no surprise that, as David Gramit has shown, musicians also showed relatively little interest in collecting the actual lieder sung by the *Volk*, preferring to create brand-new *Volkslieder* according to the ideals they believed to have abstracted from those “true” folksongs.<sup>20</sup> Reichardt, for example, insisted that these melodies should become a lodestar for the musician – a metaphor that implies deep reverence, but at the same time suggests that the *Volkslied* should serve more as a point of orientation than as a model to directly imitate.<sup>21</sup> Still, of all his contemporaries, it was precisely Reichardt who developed the most elaborate theory about how modern *Volkslieder* should break with the art song tradition of earlier decades, and return to an earlier melodic ideal yet untainted by modern harmony. As he explained in the introduction to his 1781 “Merry lieder for German men,”

[l]ied melodies with which everyone with ears and a throat should be able to join in must be able to stand for themselves without any accompaniment; must so strike the very *Weise* of the [poetic] lied – as Herder more cogently terms

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<sup>20</sup> See Gramit, “The dilemma of the popular: the *Volk*, the composer, and the culture of art music” in *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 63–92.

<sup>21</sup> See Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer* (Berlin: George Ludewig Winters Wittwe, 1781), foreword.

what one earlier only called the lied's melody – in the simplest progression of tones, in the most certain motion, in the most exact agreement of caesuras and sections, that once one knows the melody, one can no longer think of it without the words, nor of the words without the melody; that the melody wants to be everything for the words, nothing for itself.

Such a melody – to tell the artist in one word – will always have the true character of unison, and therefore not require or even permit accompanying harmony.

This is how all lieder were created when our German *Volk* was still rich in song; when accompanying harmony was not yet introduced, and long after its introduction was still restricted to its place of origin, the church. Since this [harmony] so strained our hearing, however, that it has become necessary for us on every occasion; since then our melodies have been gliding away so superficially, have become merely the clothing of harmony. And since we even possess a system for this, which can aptly be compared to the doctrines of economical architecture from beginning to end, the theorist rightly asks about the root of each melodic step. Now, the more limited the system becomes, the more limited the mind of the theorist, and the duller his sense. That is why he now also wants to *see* the root; hearing does not suffice for him.

Beautiful times, when all that was different! Every happy, impartial man did not intend to see, or even hear, whence and where, but felt it, and enjoyed his bright feeling. Now let one stand and wait for the feeling that the majority of our songs should produce!

One can of course name a hundred old *Volkslieder* the melodies of which do not have that character of unison, but rather very easily allow for, or even invite, a second part. These, however, are not true, original folksong

melodies, but pieces for hunting horns, or country dances, under which words were laid.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Reichardt, *Frohe Lieder*, foreword. A year later this text also appeared under the title “An junge Künstler” in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, and the latter version is reprinted in Reichardt’s *Briefe, die Musik betreffend: Berichte, Rezensionen, Essays*, ed. Grita Herre and Walther Siegmund-Schultze (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1976), 98–111 (quote 102–103): “Liedermelodien, in die jeder, der nur Ohren und Kehle hat, gleich einstimmen soll, müssen für sich ohn’ alle Begleitung bestehen können, müssen in der einfachsten Folge der Töne, in der bestimmtesten Bewegung, in der genauesten Übereinstimmung der Einschnitte und Abschnitte usw. gerade die Weise – wie’s Herder treffender nennt, als man sonst nur die Melodie des Liedes benannte – die Weise des Liedes so treffen, dass man die Melodie, weiss man sie einmal, nicht ohne die Worte, die Worte nicht ohne die Melodie mehr denken kann; dass die Melodie für die Worte alles, nichts für sich allein sein will.

“Eine solche Melodie wird allemal – um es dem Künstler mit einem Worte zu sagen – den wahren Charakter des Einklanges (Unisono) haben, also keiner zusammenklingenden Harmonie bedürfen oder auch nur Zulass gestatten.

“So sind alle die Lieder der Zeiten beschaffen, da unser deutsches Volk noch reich an Gesang war; da zusammenklingende Harmonie noch nicht eingeführt war, und lange nach ihrer Einführung noch auf die Kirche, ihren Ursprungsort, eingeschränkt blieb. Seitdem diese nun aber unser Ohr so verspannte, dass sie uns bei jeder Gelegenheit nothwendig ward, seitdem gleiten unsere Melodien so oberflächlich hinweg, sind nur Gewand der Harmonie. Und seitdem wir für diese gar noch ein System haben, das sich so von Anfang bis zu Ende sein schicklich mit den Lehren der ökonomischen Baukunst vergleichen lässt, fragt der Theoretiker mit Recht nach dem Fundament jedes melodischen Schritts. Je eingeschränkter nun noch immer das System wird, je enger kann auch der Kopf des Theoretikers und je stumpfer sein Sinn seyn. Daher will er nun auch schon das Fundament *sehen*, am hören genügte ihm nicht.

Even if Reichardt's first paragraph about the *Weise* of folksongs is somewhat misguided (for Herder appears to have meant by this term less the sung melody of a lied, but rather a deeper musical quality), the explication of the inherent unison character of old folk melodies is insightful and original. Whereas to most contemporaries the emergence of harmony seemed one of the great achievements of modern music, which in itself ensured the superiority of recent styles over those of earlier periods, Reichardt identifies this development as a major aesthetic deficiency of his time. Admittedly, his critique in part merely reinforces the old idea that lied melodies must be meaningful even without accompaniment, and so composers should refrain from composing these at the keyboard.<sup>23</sup> However, Reichardt goes a step

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“Schöne Zeiten, da das all anders war! jeder Glückliche, Unbefangene sich nicht hinstellte zu sehen oder gerade zu hören, woher und wohin? sondern es fühlte und sich seines frohen Gefühls erfreute. Nun stell sich einer hin und wart' aufs Gefühl, das ihm durch die meisten unsrer Gesänge werden soll!

Man wird mir freilich hundert alte Volkslieder nennen können, deren Melodien jenen Charakter des Einklangs nicht haben, die vielmehr sehr leicht die zweite Stimme zulassen, wohl gar dazu einladen. Das sind aber nicht wahre ursprüngliche Volksliedermelodien, sondern Jägerhornstücke oder Landtänze, denen die Worte untergelegt werden.” (Given Reichardt's explicit reference to the Herderian notion of *Weise*, it is noteworthy that five out of the altogether twelve *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer* are set to poems by Herder himself.)

<sup>23</sup> The locus classicus of this principle is the introduction by Carl Wilhelm Ramler and Christian Gottfried Krause in their *Oden mit Melodien*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1753): “Wenn unsere Componisten singend ihre Lieder componiren, ohne das Clavier dabey zu gebrauchen und ohne

further by stressing that the crucial question is not whether one actually performs an instrumental accompaniment or not, but that the melodies should not be subject to the simplistic rules of common harmony. The French, he says, have a number of popular songs which are sung without accompaniment; however, these tunes have what we would today call “implied harmonies”:

For the insightful composer, or even the artistically trained ear, our common, unfolksy melodies are not as empty, not as ungraspable, not as unimpressive as for the *Volk*: mentally he adds to the unison singing the harmony that is implied in the succession of the tones very weakly, oftentimes not at all, and so hears in his head the purr, purr, or tick-tock of his barrel-organ or dulcimer – what else are our violins and harpsichords?

Now, the French have in all their melodies a most uniform harmonic progression, which is the same in their psalms as in their drinking songs. Being used to it from the church service, [even] the most ordinary Frenchman stands with his drinking songs just as our composer with our common songs. This is not at all the case with our common man, who does not grasp our celestially pure, highly simple, divinely rich chorale songs at all so clearly, or recognize them later in everyday songs.<sup>24</sup>

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darán zu gedenken, dass noch ein Bass hinzu kommen soll: so wird der Geschmack am Singen unter unserer Nation bald allgemeiner werden und überall Lust und gesellige Fröhlichkeit einführen.”

<sup>24</sup> Reichardt, *Briefe, die Musik betreffend*, 105: “Dem einsichtigen Tonkünstler, oder auch schon dem geübten Kunstohr, sind unsre gewöhnlichen unvolkmässigen Melodien nicht so leer, nicht so unfasslich, nicht so uneindrücklich, als dem Volke: er denkt sich beim einstimmigen Singen die in der Tonfolge oft sehr schwach, oft gar nicht angedeutete Harmonie nach seiner Art hinzu und hört so in seinem Kopfe

Fascinating though Reichardt's ideas may be, their musical realization did not make a great impression on his contemporaries. An anonymous reviewer of the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* noted in 1791 that, while these melodies indeed all bore the true character of the unison and needed no accompaniment, he found no reason to believe that every song should share this quality. On the contrary, the twelve pieces appearing in Reichardt's volume seemed to suggest that "through this [compositional strategy] such lied melodies must very soon become highly uniform."<sup>25</sup> Notwithstanding his friendship with Reichardt, Johann Abraham Peter Schulz also remained skeptical toward unaccompanied unison lieder: after composing a *Rundgesang* in which the keyboard player's left hand merely doubled the melody in octaves, he ironically remarked in a letter to the poet Voss: "Your noble self will find that the bass to the solo, as well as the choir, must have caused me difficulties";<sup>26</sup> in his response Voss

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das Schnurr, Schnurr oder Ticktack seines Leierkastens oder Hackebrets – was sind unsre Geigen und Flügel viel mehr?

"Nun haben die Franzosen in allen ihren Melodien einen höchst einförmigen Gang der Harmonie, die in ihren Psalmen, wie in ihren Trinkliedern derselbe ist. Vom Gottesdienst her daran gewöhnt, ist der geringste Franzose also für seine Trinklieder in gleichem Fall mit unserm Tonkünstler bei unsern gewöhnlichen Gesängen. So gar nicht unser gemeiner Mann, der unsern himmlisch reinen, hocheinfachen, göttlichreichen Choralgesang gar nicht so deutlich fasst und hernach in Alltagsgesängen wiederfindet."

<sup>25</sup> *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 1 (1791), 36: "dass solche Liedermelodien dadurch sehr bald höchst einförmig werden müssen."

<sup>26</sup> Heinz Gottwaldt and Gerhard Hahne (eds.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Johann Abraham Peter Schulz und Johann Heinrich Voss* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960), 69: "Ew. HochEdlen werden finden, dass mir

acknowledged in full sympathy that “[t]he bass must indeed have given you a headache.”<sup>27</sup> While these remarks might at first seem fairly innocent, they could also be read as reflections of a deeper reservation regarding Reichardt’s *Volkslied* ideal. Arguably, Schulz considered the simple unison less a manifestation of “true folksong” than something dangerously primitive: for him, the goal was by no means to return to a Golden Age, but rather to educate the *Volk* – in part precisely through the lieder composed for it – to reach an ever higher cultural niveau.<sup>28</sup>

In accordance with his pedagogical principles, Schulz made no effort to break with the prevailing art-song tradition the way Reichardt did; the immense popularity of his *Lieder im Volkston* proved him right. And even though the theoretical background he provided to his “folksongs” was much less technical and historical than

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der Bass so wol zu dem Solo, als zu dem Coro, sehr schwer hat fallen müssen.” The song in question bears the title *Ein Lied in die Haushaltung*, and appeared in the third volume of Schulz’s *Lieder im Volkston* collection (Berlin: Heinrich August Rottmann, 1790), 9. The composer’s remark about the bass “to the solo, as well as the choir” is doubly ironic, since the latter is a note-by-note repetition of the former (although in the chorus the bass diverts from the melody for half a bar).

<sup>27</sup> Gottwaldt and Hahne (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, 70: “Der Bass muss freilich Kopfbrechen gekostet haben.”

<sup>28</sup> Schulz’s views on singing and general education are laid out in detail in his *Gedanken über den Einfluss der Musik auf die Bildung eines Volks, und über deren Einführung in den Schulen der königl. Dänischen Staaten* (Copenhagen: Christian Gottlob Probst, 1790). Carl Spazier also insisted that unison melodies were inappropriate for the *Volk*, for their forced turns of phrase inevitably overstepped the sensitivity of the uneducated classes, which could only grasp the simplest relationships between tones. See his “Einige Worte über deutschen Volksgesang,” *AmZ* 3 (1800–1801), 73–81, 89–94, 105–111 (quote 110).



Reichardt's preface, it would be mistaken to think that his solution was theoretically less consistent. To be sure, Schulz may have been just as little interested in simply "copying" actual folksongs as his friend: an 1801 essay in the *AmZ* interpreted his songs as representing a "middle genre" (*Mittelgattung*) between true folksongs and "art songs,"<sup>29</sup> while Carl Friedrich Cramer went so far as to suggest that Schulz added the phrase *im Volkston* to his otherwise normal lieder merely to gain favor with the general public.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, Schulz famously claimed that his lieder would aim to create the "appearance of the familiar" (*Schein des Bekannten*); many of his melodies are evidently related to that group of folksongs, tendentiously ignored by Reichardt, "which do not have that character of unison, but rather very easily allow for, or even invite, a second part."<sup>31</sup> If Reichardt insisted that these were "not true, original folk melodies, but pieces for hunting horns, or country dances," this only lays bare his obsession with the origins of *Volkslieder*. Schulz would no doubt have objected to such purism, and have responded that the achievements of modern art that had already been admitted into the music of the *Volk* were to be carefully developed, rather than eliminated on the basis of some primitivist principles. In this context, Schulz's insistence on providing his melodies with keyboard accompaniment seems wholly understandable; the thoroughgoing unadventurousness of his keyboard parts is a

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<sup>29</sup> "Bemerkungen über die Ausbildung der Tonkunst in Deutschland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert," *AmZ* 3 (1800–1801), 225–235, 241–249, 257–264, 273–286, 297–308, 321–331, 369–379, 389–401, 405–410, 421–432, 437–445 (quote 429).

<sup>30</sup> Carl Friedrich Cramer's review of Johann Abraham Peter Schulz's *Lieder im Volkston* in his *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783), 61–66 (quote 63).

<sup>31</sup> For Reichardt's comment, see note 22. Schulz's views on the „appearance of the familiar” appear in his preface to the second edition of *Lieder im Volkston* (Berlin: Georg Jacob Decker, 1785).

consequence of his effort merely to unfold those basic harmonies that were already implied by the presence of a “latent” second part below the melody. Indeed, the keyboard part of such lieder at times simply substitutes for the “missing” lower horn; the opening of the *Tafellied* (Example 1.6) is an obvious case in point. But even in passages where the accompaniment is not reduced to a single voice in this radical way, the bass often merely supplies the “only possible” harmonic bass note under the intervals determined by the melody. Schulz’s *Huldigung* (see Example 2.3) is a textbook example: the right hand delivers an endless succession of parallel thirds (and, for the final cadence, sixths), which are accompanied by simple tonic–dominant alternation in the left hand, with but minimal rhythmic figuration.<sup>32</sup> Needless to say, the melody is by no means altogether free here, in as much as its main notes already suggest an underlying harmonic rhythm. Still, the bass gives the impression of moving almost casually, thus allowing for a “natural” unfolding of the parallels in the top voices. I shall come back to another three-part application of this technique later on in this chapter; for now, however, let me return to the two-part “archetype” of this harmonic technique.

Passages with horn-like part-writing were of course nothing new: Johann Wilhelm Hertel’s *Romanzen mit Melodien* collection, for instance, includes an attractive lied with this kind of rudimentary accompaniment as early as 1762

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<sup>32</sup> Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, “Huldigung,” in *Lieder im Volkston*, vol. 1, 2nd edition (Berlin: G. J. Decker, 1785), 2. While this technique is quite common among Schulz’s *Lieder im Volkston*, it is even more ubiquitous in the songs of one of his followers, Friedrich Ludewig Aemilius Kunzen. See Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. 1/1, 300–301.

## 2. Huldigung

Andantino Ludwig Christoph Heinrich Hölty

Euch, ihr Schö-nen, will ich fröh-nen bis an mei-nen Tod, mit Ge-san-ges-  
 -wei-sen bis an mei-nen Tod eu-re Tu-gend prei-sen!

**Example 2.3** Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, “Huldigung,”  
in *Lieder im Volkston*, vol. I (1782).

(see Example 2.4).<sup>33</sup> The aesthetic implications of this style, however, appear to have changed immensely around 1780. In Hertel’s song this “primitive” and virtually “automatic” accompaniment underlines the irony of the poem, which tells the laughable sufferings of “Hans, the Swabian junker, who was wounded in the bloody but brave Battle at Rossbach on 5 November 1757, and was wept for by his Lady Mum.”<sup>34</sup> Whether the “folksy” part-writing also parodies the hero’s nationality (the

<sup>33</sup> Johann Wilhelm Hertel, *Romanzen mit Melodien, und einem Schreiben an den Verfasser derselben* (Hamburg and Leipzig: 1762), 10. The author of the texts is Johann Friedrich Löwen; see Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. I/1, 134.

<sup>34</sup> Hertel, *Romanzen mit Melodien*, 9: “Der in dem blutigen doch muthigen Treffen bey Rossbach, den 5 Nov. 1757. verwundete, und von seiner gnädigen Frau Mama herzlich beweinte *Junker Hans* aus Schwaben.”



Nach dem man Zeit hat.



**Example 2.4** Johann Wilhelm Hertel, "Ein Junker aus dem Schwabenland,"  
in *Romanzen mit Melodien* (1762).

Swabian folksong appears to have become a local specialty by this time<sup>35</sup>) is uncertain; in any case, in the hands of Schulz and his followers this technique soon lost its lowbrow associations and came to be seen as appropriate to serious texts as well. Reichardt, who was exceedingly open to outside influences, also came to realize the special beauty of such horn accompaniments, and doubtless did more to establish these *Bizinien*, as he called them, in the lied than any other composer. His setting of Christian Ludwig Neuffer's *Mondscheingemälde*, which appeared among his 1798 *Lieder der Liebe und der Einsamkeit*, provides an excellent example (see Example 2.5).<sup>36</sup> “The evening’s quiet feast” and “the peace of nature” are perfectly evoked by the two parts moving “slowly and softly” (*Langsam und leise*) through the simplest intervals, and the sound of horns – the piece is explicitly designated “for two hunting-horns as well” – even seems an obvious topos to vividly evoke the forest wherein “the top of the woods are trembling in the last rays of the sun.” The only notable moment of change in the piece – the descending unison passage in mm. 13–14 – is also perfectly timed to depict the “dark shadows” with laconic clarity.

Unfortunately, Reichardt’s predilection for such horn-*Bizinien* at times turned into an obsession. Not only did he publish a collection of a hundred easy pieces for two horns, but he taught both his coachman, and his servant to play the instrument, so that the beautiful garden of his house in Giebichenstein could be filled with these

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<sup>35</sup> See Hermann Kretzschmar, *Geschichte des neuen deutschen Liedes. I. Teil: Von Albert bis Zelter* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 323.

<sup>36</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Lieder der Liebe und der Einsamkeit zur Harfe und zum Clavier zu singen*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer der Jüngere, [1798]), 32–33.



*Mondscheingemälde.*

(Auch für zwei Waldhörner.)

Langsam und leise.

Des A - bends stil - le Fei - er, die Ru - he der Na - tur um - webt mit düst - rem.

Schlei - er die sanft ge - kühl - te Flur. Des Wal - des Wip - fel be - ben im lez - ten Sonnen -

stral, und dunk - le Schat - ten schwe - ben stets schwär - zer in das Thal.

**D**es Abends stille Feier,  
 Die Ruhe der Natur,  
 Umwebt mit düstrem Schleier  
 Die sanftgekühlte Flur.  
 Des Waldes Wipfel beben  
 Im letzten Sonnenstral,  
 Und dunkle Schatten schweben  
 Stets schwärzer in das Thal.

Der Schiffer strebt erschrocken  
 Auf leichtem Kahn daher;  
 Der Dörfer dumpfe Glocken  
 Verstummen schon umher.  
 Aus dichten Büschen schimmert  
 Des Landmanns fernes Licht;  
 Das weite Feld verflummet,  
 Gleich einem Traumgesicht.

In

**Example 2.5** Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Mondscheingemälde,"  
 in *Lieder der Liebe und der Einsamkeit* (1798).

simple “folksy” harmonies.<sup>37</sup> Inevitably, his liking for the genre made Reichardt often turn to this technique in his *lieder*, too, which some contemporaries appear to have interpreted as a lack of sensitivity toward the poems themselves. The song *Schneiderschreck* is a case in point (see Example 2.6).<sup>38</sup> Goethe’s poem is a fairly plebeian joke: a shot is heard from behind the house, which causes two sparrows and a tailor to fall – “the sparrows because of the pellets, the tailor because of the fright; the sparrows in the peas, the tailor in the dung.” Admittedly, the text explicitly hints at hunting (the shot is fired off by a “young hunter”); Reichardt nevertheless does little to adjust the fairly neutral horn-writing to this lowbrow text – the few leaps in the penultimate bar hardly reflect the tailor’s sad fate. Indeed, a comparison of Reichardt’s music with our previous example exposes this supposedly comic lied as little more than a slightly altered and somewhat abbreviated rearrangement of *Mondscheingemälde*: the first six measures of the two songs are very similar, and the differences from this point on are primarily due to the different lengths of the texts (the final two bars can again be seen as variants of each other, suggesting that mm. 7–14 are simply skipped, as it were, in the shorter version). The reviewer of the *AmZ* also found that Reichardt had nothing more in mind here than to be “folksy” (*volksmässig*), and consequently *Schneiderschreck* became but “a little piece, under which virtually anything [i.e. any text] could be laid”; not to mention that the title the composer chose

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<sup>37</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Hundert leichte Übungsstücke für zwei Waldhörner* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer der Jüngere, [1797]). Regarding the coachman and the servant, see Walter Salmen, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt: Komponist, Schriftsteller, Kapellmeister und Verwaltungsbeamter der Goethezeit*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2002), 237.

<sup>38</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Goethes Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen*, vol. IV (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1811]), 17.

## Schneiderschreck.

(Auch auf zwei Waldhörnern zu blasen.)

*Volksmässig.*

Es ist ein Schuss ge-fal-len, mein, sagt wer schoss da draus? Es war der jun-ge Jä-ger, der schoss im Hinter-haus.  
 Die Spatzen in dem Garten die machen viel Verdruss. Zwei Spatzen und ein Schneider, die fielen von dem Schuss.  
 Die Spatzen von den Schrotten, der Schneider von dem Schreck, die Spatzen in die Schoten, der Schneider in den Dreck.

1479

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**Example 2.6** Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Schneiderschreck," in *Goethes Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen*, vol. IV (1811).



was too explicit, and thereby killed the joke in advance.<sup>39</sup> Zelter, who became Goethe's musical right arm after Reichardt lost the confidence of the poet, was even less merciful: in a letter to Goethe he diagnosed that Reichardt "snitches your poems from me, shits them on a leaf of music, and sends them warm to the printer in order to be the first; but they are just like that: thus he treated the young hunter and others in a wholly negligent way."<sup>40</sup> Zelter obviously felt pressed to outdo Reichardt in his own setting of Goethe's poem, which appeared in the 1810 first volume of his *Sämmtliche Lieder, Balladen und Romanzen* (see Example 2.7).<sup>41</sup> Zelter also takes the popular horn-like *Bizinium*-structure for his starting point, but through much of the piece restricts himself to the melodic range where this implies a simple series of thirds – the

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<sup>39</sup> Anonymous review of Johann Friedrich Reichardt's *Goethes Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen*, vol. IV, in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 371–376 (quote 373): "ein Stückchen, welchem ziemlich alles Mögliche untergelegt werden kann." While Goethe himself to be sure gave the piece a less revealing title (*Schneidercourage*), Reichardt's setting still appears to have become rather popular: more than three decades later it was republished in Gottfried Wilhelm Fink's influential collection *Musikalischer Hausschatz der Deutschen* (Leipzig: Mayer und Wigand, 1843), 3.

<sup>40</sup> See Zelter's letter dated 25 October 1811 in Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Edith Zehm (eds.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1799 bis 1832* [Johann Wolfgang Goethe Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens. Münchner Ausgabe, vol. XX/1] (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1991), 267: "Er stipitzt mir Ihre Gedichte weg, kackt sie auf ein Notenblatt und schickt sie warm in die Presse um der Erste zu sein, Sie sind aber auch darnach gemacht: so hat er den jungen Jäger und mehreres auf ganz nachlässige Weise behandelt."

<sup>41</sup> Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Sämmtliche Lieder, Balladen und Romanzen für das Piano-Forte*, vol. I (Berlin: Kunst und Industrie-Comptoir, [1810]), 12.

**Example 2.7** Carl Friedrich Zelter, “Der junge Jäger,” in *Sämmtliche Lieder, Balladen und Romanzen für das Piano-Forte*, vol. I (1810).

## Der junge Iäger.

No 9.

Es ist ein Schufs ge-fal-len, mein sagt wer schofs da-draus? Es

ist der jun-ge lä-ger, es ist der jun-ge lä-ger der

schiefst im Hin-ter-haus Piff! Piff! Piff! Piff!

2.

Die Spatzen in dem Garten  
Die machen viel Verdrufs.  
Zwey Spatzen und ein Schneider  
Die fielen von dem Schufs;

3.

Die Spatzen von den Schroten,  
Der Schneider von dem Schreck;  
Die Spatzen in die Schoten,  
Der Schneider in den — .

Gothe.

fifths and sixths only appear for the cadence in m. 8. Nevertheless, he evidently felt that the “punch line” should be stressed even more, so he added a little epilogue of *Piff*’s and *Paff*’s, which proved funny enough to make Goethe, who was as a rule not enthusiastic about composers’ altering his texts, admit that “*Der Schneider* is absolutely excellent and always provokes great delight.”<sup>42</sup>

### **Folksongs *a cappella***

For our investigation, the epilogue of Zelter’s *Der junge Jäger* proves interesting in another respect: for once, the text underlay appears to suggest that the lower part of such folksy parallels could also have been sung, rather than merely played on an accompanying instrument. Indeed, another song by Zelter may serve as a textbook example of how this “folksy” two-voice technique could be expanded to a partsong proper. The first strophe of *Abendlied im Freien* (see Example 2.8)<sup>43</sup> is set as a duet: the parallel motion the two tenors present in mm. 1–8 could not be more horn-like. At this point, the third tenor joins in, but this brings about no significant change of style, either. In mm. 9–11 the bottom voice merely provides a pedal by adding common tones to the chords implied by the continuing parallel motion of the two upper voices; in m. 12 the parallelism is taken over by the two lower parts, and so forth – as usual, it is only in the cadence (mm. 15–16) that the part-writing becomes slightly more complicated (although fragments of parallel motion are clearly present here as well).

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<sup>42</sup> See Goethe’s letter to Zelter dated 18 November 1810 in Ottenberg and Zehm (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, 1991), 244: “Der Schneider ist ganz exzellent und erregt immer grosses Wohlgefallen.”

<sup>43</sup> In October 1808 Zelter’s *Abendlied im freien für Tenor, Bariton und Bass* (to a poem by Johann Friedrich Kind, later librettist of Carl Maria von Weber’s *Der Freischütz*) was advertised as a separate publication in *AmZ* 11 (1808–1809), *Intelligenzblatt*, 6.

**Example 2.8** Carl Friedrich Zelter, “Abendlied im Freien” (1808).

## Abendlied im Freien.

No 2.

Drey

Tenorstimmen.

Heiter und sanft.

Phöbus, mit lokkerem Zü - gel lenkst du die Rosse zur Flut, rö - thefst die

grü - nen - den Hü - gel scheidend mit pur - pur - ner Gluth. Fei - er - lich na - hen die Ster - ne

Fei - er - lich na - hen die Ster - ne

wan - delnd in lieb - li - cher Pracht, dort in be - leuch - te - ter Fer - ne

wan - delnd in lieb - li - cher Pracht, dort in be - leuch - te - ter Fer - ne

wan - delnd in lieb - li - cher Pracht, dort in be - leuch - te - ter Fer - ne

# Example 2.8 (Continued)

däm-mert die Göt-tin der Nacht.

däm-mert die Göt-tin der Nacht.

däm-mert die Göt-tin der Nacht.

Mädchen und Jünglinge tanzen,  
 Festlich mit Kränzen umlaubt;  
 Schmachtende Blumen und Pflanzen  
 Heben das sinkende Haupt.  
 Herrschend in Florens Gebiete  
 Wehet erquickende Luft;  
 Prangend mit silberner Blüthe  
 Spenden die Linden uns Duft.

Sey uns mit Liedern begrüßet,  
 Liebliche heilige Nacht!  
 Heut' wird gefcherzt und geküßet,  
 Heut' wirt du tanzend durchwacht.  
 Weile im fröhlichen Bunde,  
 Wo man dir jubelt und fängt,  
 Dafs nicht zu frühe die Stunde  
 Da wir uns trennen erklingt.

F. Kind.

Admittedly, this kind of systematic expansion of the folksy two-part structure into three-part harmony is uncommon in the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century repertory. Nonetheless, this example does remind us of a plausible connection between the changing aesthetics of the *Volkslied*, and the reemergence of the partsong as such.

At the beginning of this chapter I noted that, even though the genre seems to have acquired wider popularity only about the very end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, partsongs sporadically started to appear in lied collections already around 1780. Their multipart texture clearly broke with the “mainstream” of earlier lied compositions, which were ideally expected to do without accompaniment. At the same time, the aesthetic debates concerning the *Volkslied* suggest that, notwithstanding Reichardt’s advocacy of unison melodies, most composers (and later on Reichardt himself) followed the Schulzian model by providing their “folksongs” with keyboard accompaniment. Furthermore, we have seen that a great number of these accompaniments observed a simple parallel technique apparently popular even among the musically uneducated *Volk*. In a few of these songs the accompaniment offered nothing but this parallel voice; such pieces were on occasion doubtless performed not merely by two horns, but by two singers as well.<sup>44</sup> In these strictly two-part settings the cadences had to abandon the consistent

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<sup>44</sup> By the end of the 18th century, the “naturalness” of such parallel singing was already taken for granted. Carl Gottlob Horstig, for instance, insisted in this context that children were “often inclined by themselves to accompany their melody with a second part.” See his “Vorschläge zu besserer Einrichtung der Singschulen in Deutschland,” *AmZ* 1 (1798–1799): 166–174, 183–189, 197–201, 214–220 (quote 183): “oft von selbst geneigt sind, ihre Melodie mit einer zweyten Stimme zu begleiten.” At the same time, the appropriateness of this type of accompaniment was not considered something universal among all peoples, but rather a national characteristic, since hunting-horns came to be



parallel motion (thus bringing about the characteristic horn-like sound); nevertheless, the majority of the accompaniments tended to include at least three parts, and the addition of a bass often allowed the top voices to maintain their parallel motion throughout the piece. Whether such lieder would frequently have been performed as vocal duets (with instrumental accompaniment) or possibly trios is difficult to tell, but the option was certainly there – in 1782 Reichardt described how “some [people] in the company were skillful enough to add further concordant tones to the actual song, and so it turned into a multipart chorus of pleasant, pure harmony.”<sup>45</sup> In this light it is tempting to ponder whether the chronological proximity reflects a causal connection, and the “folksy” practice of improvising another voice (or even other voices) to lied melodies was an inspiration for composers to begin to properly notate their multipart lieder precisely around the time the *Volkslied* first gained wider currency. And even if,

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associated specifically with German *Volkslieder*. See, for example, the anonymous review of Joseph Haydn’s arrangements of Scottish songs in *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 586[a]–591 (quote 586[b]–587).

<sup>45</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “An die Jugend,” *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* 1 (1782), 175–176.

Reprinted in idem, *Briefe, die Musik betreffend: Berichte, Rezensionen, Essays*, ed. Grita Herre and Walther Siegmund-Schultze (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1976), 165–169 (quote 167): “Einige in der Gesellschaft waren geschickt genug, dem eigentlichen Gesange andre übereinstimmende Töne beizufügen, und so wurde ein vollstimmiges Chor von angenehmer, reiner Harmonie daraus.” Being aware of such improvisational practices, Hans Georg Schmidt ventured the – nonetheless slightly anachronistic – hypothesis that the ubiquitous parallel writing in Johann Abraham Peter Schulz’s *Lieder im Volkston* might already have been inspired by the public demand for choral singing. See Schmidt, *Das Männerchorlied Franz Schuberts: Ein historisch-stilkritischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Männerchorliedes im 19. Jahrhundert* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cologne, 1929), 10.

at this relatively early date, this connection may prove illusory (since the popularity of the partsong did by no means keep abreast with that of the new *Volkslieder*), for the later history of the genre the popularity, as well as the aesthetic emancipation, of the two-part *Volkslied* must have had immense ramifications.

One of the crucial theoretical debates of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was concerned with the origins of music itself: Did melody have primacy (as Rousseau insisted), or should it be seen as a mere reflection of deeper harmonic progressions (as Rameau believed)? Since its rebirth in the 1730s and '40s, the lied clearly appeared to support the first view; as I have mentioned earlier, theorists of the First Berlin Lied School requested composers to write their lieder via singing alone.<sup>46</sup> By the end of the century, however, this kind of melodic purism had become obsolete. In 1789 Gotthelf Benjamin Flaschner proclaimed that, while *Volkslieder* should indeed appeal to the musically uneducated as well, the composer must pay great attention to the harmonies, “without which support even the most beautiful melody will remain without effect.”<sup>47</sup> By 1800 Carl Spazier went as far as to turn Reichardt’s earlier music-historical argumentation upside down by suggesting that a *Volkslied* melody can suffice in itself merely because the *Volk* will be quick to add a bass to it anyway: “The melody must be of the kind that, if necessary, the peasant himself could supply it with a bass, without which there is no proper music-making even in the hayloft and in the village tavern.”<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> For Ramler’s and Krause’s codification of this principle, see note 23.

<sup>47</sup> Gotthelf Benjamin Flaschner, *Zwanzig Lieder vermischten Inhalts für Klavier und Gesang* (Zittau and Leipzig: Johann David Schöps, 1789), foreword. Quoted in Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. 1/1, 324: “ohne welche Unterstützung auch die schönste Melodie ohne Wirkung bleiben wird.”

<sup>48</sup> Spazier, “Einige Worte über deutschen Volksgesang” (quote 110): “Die Melodie muss von der Art seyn, dass der Bauer sich seinen Bass, ohne welchen sich doch nun einmal, selbst auf dem Heuboden

Furthermore, it was not simply the addition of a bass that came to be seen as a matter of fact; the presence of additional voices also became not merely acceptable, but desirable. If in 1761 one could flatly declare that “[m]iddle voices belong by no means in an ode melody,”<sup>49</sup> by around 1800 parallel singing became “business as usual,” and in 1817 Georg Christoph Grosheim was seriously criticized for not having shaped the melodies of his lieder to better facilitate “ein ordentliches Secundiren,” that is, the addition of an accompanying voice.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, by this time folksongs as such came to be seen not simply as inherently harmonic, but often as being intended for more than a single vocal part. The first volume of Gottfried Wilhelm Fink’s exceptionally popular

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und in der Dorfschenke keine rechtschaffene Musik machen lässt, allenfalls selber dazu machen kann.” While the general shift of emphasis from melody to harmony seems clear, Spazier’s view was by no means without precedents; as early as the late 1750s Marpurg argued that Ramler and Krause were mistaken in hinting at French chansons as models for strictly unaccompanied singing: “All good chansons that one ever sang in Paris are constructed so that a bass can be made to it, if it is not already there.” See the open letter to Krause dated 7 July 1759 in Marpurg’s *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst*, reprint (Hildesheim: Olms, 1974), vol. 1, 20–23 (quote 22): “Alle gute Chansons, die man jemahls in Paris gesungen hat, sind so beschaffen, dass ein Bass dazu gemachet werden kann, wenn er nicht schon dabey vorhanden ist.”

<sup>49</sup> See the anonymous preface to *Oden mit Melodien*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel, 1761): “Mittelstimmen gehören durchaus in keine Odenmelodie.” This passage is quoted (and tentatively attributed to Ramler and Krause) in Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. 1/1, 168. Regarding the interchangeability of the terms “ode” and “lied,” see note 21 in the Introduction.

<sup>50</sup> The anonymous reviewer of Grosheim’s *Volkslieder* collection suggested that such *ordentliches Secundiren* would have been especially welcome for the youth and the *Volk*; see *AmZ* 19 (1817), 215–216 (quote 216).

*Volkslieder* collection, for example, includes six pieces, five of which bear a note explaining that the piece will make the best impression if sung in two or three parts without accompaniment (although performance by a solo voice and keyboard is also possible).<sup>51</sup> Intriguingly, the anonymous reviewer of the *AmZ* also acknowledged that all the lieder in this publication were true *Volkslieder* – but made an exception for no. 5, “the single piece which clearly oversteps the folklike in its disposition, can only be performed by one voice part, and has an obligatory and necessary clavier accompaniment.”<sup>52</sup> Apparently, by around 1810 solo performance came to be seen as somehow contradicting the supposed folklike character of a lied – an idea that may in part have originated from the supposed collective character of the *Volk*, but in effect endorsed the partsong as a fully legitimate variant of *Volkslied*.

Nonetheless, the reviewer’s implication of the unfolklike quality of obligatory keyboard accompaniment may prove even more revealing. As is well known, the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw renewed interest in the music of the past, including the choral music of the Renaissance. This phenomenon has often been connected to the anti-enlightenment nostalgia of the first Romantic generation, but, as James Garratt has proposed, such views were also heavily indebted to the Romantics’ ambiguous relationship with what we would call “absolute music”:

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<sup>51</sup> Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, *Volkslieder mit und ohne Klavier-Begleitung*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: A. Kühnel, [1811]).

<sup>52</sup> *AmZ* 13 (1811), 176–181 (quote 178): “das einzige Stück, das in der *Anordnung* wol über das Volksmässige hinausgeht, nur von Einer Singstimme vorgetragen werden kann, und eine obligate und nothwendige Klavier-Begleitung hat.”

[F]or some nineteenth-century critics and musicians, the idealization of *a cappella* music stemmed in part from the desire to erect a vocal paradigm as a counterweight to the primacy of instrumental music in mainstream aesthetics and practice. [...] For both Hoffmann and Tieck it is *a cappella* rather than concerted music that is elevated as a symbol of ideal vocal music, because the former – paradoxically – can more readily be assimilated within criteria conceived around absolute instrumental music.

In order to represent vocal music as a vehicle for the infinite – as a means of “saying the unsayable” in the same way as indeterminate, absolute instrumental music – Hoffmann and Tieck downplay or ignore the presence of words: the works of Palestrina are not viewed as a combination of text and music but as pure music.<sup>53</sup>

While this explication of the renewed interest in Palestrina is certainly revealing, as regards the early 19th century, *a cappella* singing can by no means be equated with the Palestrina style exclusively. In the *AmZ*, hardly any review of partsongs fails to emphasize how such pieces should optimally be performed without instrumental accompaniment. To be sure, in the case of religious texts this postulate can indeed be related to the models of older church music. However, unaccompanied performance is demanded with equal force for secular songs, and especially *Volkslieder*: “the accompaniment is left out, as it is better anyway to omit it in the pieces for several

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<sup>53</sup> James Garratt, *Palestrina and the German Romantic Imagination: Interpreting Historicism in Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 53–54.

parts.”<sup>54</sup> Thus, I would argue that the early 19th-century predilection for *a cappella* singing originated from at least two independent sources: besides the obvious historic precedents in religious choral music, the new, multipart *Volkslied* also served as a stylistic ideal. And by no means only at the beginning of the century: as late as 1834 Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy wrote his sister that he felt inclined to set Heine’s *Volkslieder* as partsongs, “since every keyboard accompaniment at once smacks of the salon and the music cabinet.”<sup>55</sup> Apparently, instrumental accompaniment came to be considered as somehow “tainting” the music not only in the case of sacred texts, but equally so with true *Volkslieder*, which should remind one of learned music making in the salon as little as possible.

Mendelssohn’s remark is noteworthy for its implied revival of an important postulate of the early lied theorists, namely that lieder should also be sung outdoors. I have already quoted Ramler’s and Krause’s preface to their 1753 lied collection, which suggests that “[w]e take walks in avenues, in the fields, in gardens. And what is more natural on these occasions than that one sings?”<sup>56</sup> In this light, the notion that the melodies of lieder should make perfect sense even without keyboard accompaniment, seems to have been less an abstract theoretical axiom than a pragmatic orientation on

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<sup>54</sup> This typical phrase, variants of which often recur in similar contexts, appears in an anonymous review of Gottfried Wilhelm Fink’s *Volkslieder mit und ohne Klavierbegleitung*, vol. v; see *AmZ* 14 (1812), 564–566 (quote 564): “die Begleitung bleibt weg, wie sie bey den mehrstimmigen Stücken überhaupt besser weggelassen wird.”

<sup>55</sup> Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1830–47*, ed. Paul and Carl Mendelssohn, 7<sup>th</sup> edition (Leipzig: H. Mendelssohn, 1899), vol. II, 25: “weil jede Clavierbegleitung gleich nach dem Zimmer und nach dem Notenschrank schmeckt.”

<sup>56</sup> For a longer citation from this passage, see note 25 in my Introduction.

the composers' part. By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, the use of an accompanying instrument became undesirable primarily on aesthetic grounds – in a sense, the partsong “internalized” the earlier practical considerations, and came to be viewed as an “outdoors genre” par excellence whether a keyboard was available or not. The basic aesthetic principle of the First Berlin Lied School thus survived into the 19<sup>th</sup> century in a new guise: even if by this time the melody alone would have seemed insufficient, the addition of further vocal parts allowed musicians to have their cake and eat it too – to add harmonic support, but at the same time not to let an instrumental accompaniment evoke the atmosphere of the salon.

In this chapter my primary concern has been to show how the new, *Volkslied*-inspired “harmonic” lied aesthetics came to influence the genre in general, redefine the much-mentioned “simplicity” of the lied, and thereby foster the reemergence of the partsong. At the same time, however, this “folksy” two-part writing also survived in its original form for several decades. As suggested earlier, composers could easily expand this technique either by adding a simple harmonic bass as in Schulz's *Huldigung* (Example 2.3), or by allowing the third part to play a more flexible role, as in Zelter's *Abendlied im Freien* (Example 2.8). In addition, this kind of expansion inevitably brought about a certain restriction of the harmonies available: *Huldigung* does not feature a single predominant, and *Abendlied* includes only one, precisely in the cadential passage that complicates the earlier parallel writing. While such harmonic monotony may partly explain why modern listeners, as well as musicologists, tended to aesthetically disdain the late-18<sup>th</sup>-century *Volkslied* repertory, contemporary enthusiasts of the genre appear to have paid little heed to this problem. When an early folksong collector published one of his favorite lieder in the *AmZ* in August 1806, he felt compelled to explain:

Not only the first, also the second voice are sung by the *Volk* exactly as I have notated them, and I preferred to make the bass I added – for those who believe they cannot do without it – somewhat clumsy, rather than wish to change the second voice.<sup>57</sup>

Admittedly, this kind of “authenticist” attitude toward lieder collected in the field, as it were, was by no means general in the first decade of the century.<sup>58</sup> However, as time passed, musicians came to see *Volkslieder* as sung by the *Volk* with ever increasing admiration, and to consider their implied harmonies as an integral part of the tradition itself. Therefore, when Friedrich Silcher started to publish his ten-volume series of four-part *Volkslieder*, he felt that his contribution should be restricted to the addition of a mere two voices. As he explained in his preface to the 1826 first volume,

[s]ince several of these melodies have until now been sung in two parts, it is not simply the natural course of the second voice that was kept, as often as possible, in the four-part arrangements, but the first and second bass were also

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<sup>57</sup> „Volkslied,” *AmZ* 8 (1805–1806), 744–746 (quote 744): “Nicht nur die erste, auch die zweyte Stimme ist ganz, wie ich sie niedergeschrieben habe, im Munde des Volks, und ich habe lieber den Bass, den ich – für die, die ihn nicht entbehren zu können glauben – hinzusetze, etwas unbehülflich machen, als an dieser zweyten Stimme ändern wollen.”

<sup>58</sup> In his seminal monograph about the shifting meaning of the term *Volkslied*, Julian von Pulikowski has suggested that to collect and publish folksongs without significant previous “editing” seemed like a daring innovation even in the mid-1810s. See his *Geschichte des Begriffes Volkslied im musikalischen Schrifttum: Ein Stück deutscher Geistesgeschichte* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1933), 45.



added in the simplest tonal relations, due to the characteristic simplicity of these folksongs.<sup>59</sup>

Silcher's arrangements soon gained great popularity, and became established as part of the core repertory of male choirs. It was partly through them that the characteristic "folksy" two-part writing preserved its aesthetic influence, and survived well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century as an old, but lasting memory of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century vogue of *Volkslieder*.

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<sup>59</sup> Friedrich Silcher, *XII Volkslieder gesammelt und für vier Männerstimmen gesetzt* (Tübingen: Laupp, 1826), foreword. Quoted in Friedhelm Brusniak, "'Herr Silcher und das Volkslied': Friedrich Silcher als Sammler, Schöpfer und Bearbeiter von Volksliedern," in *Symposium zu Friedrich Silchers 200. Geburtstag: Eine Dokumentation in Verbindung mit dem Silcher-Archiv*, ed. Walter Weidmann (Trossingen: Bundesakademie für musikalische Jugendbildung, 1990), 27–50 (quote 29): "Da mehrere dieser Melodien bis jetzt zweistimmig gesungen wurden, so ist bei der vierstimmigen Bearbeitung derselben nicht nur der natürliche Gesang der zweiten Stimme, so oft es möglich war, beibehalten, sondern überhaupt der eigenthümlichen Einfachheit dieser Volksgesänge wegen auch der erste und zweite Bass ebenfalls in den einfachsten Tonverhältnissen beigelegt worden."

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE CHORUS AS A MEANS OF EDUCATION

#### **The Chorale and the *geistliches Lied***

While partsongs with secular texts started to appear around 1780, and came to be composed in greater numbers only in the final years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, religious partsongs were published in lied collections at least two decades earlier. This chronological difference is hardly surprising: secular partsongs had to be reinvented, as it were, after the mid-18<sup>th</sup>-century vogue of solo or unison choral lieder, whereas the continuous production of diverse forms of church music for choir preserved an unbroken tradition of religious partsongs throughout these decades. Indeed, it would seem difficult to draw a clear line between songs intended for use in the liturgy, and those meant for religious contemplation outside of the church. It is this dilemma that I strive to resolve by labeling this repertory *geistlich*, which in German may imply relationship with both the Church as an institution, and belief in general. An obvious case in point is the chorale, collections of which were ubiquitous and could be used for singing at home as a matter of course. Whether private “performances” in more than one part would have been widespread seems difficult to document, but by the late 1750s composers trusted that at least some part of their dilettante audience could be up to the challenge. Johann Friedrich Doles, for example, published a collection of *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* in 1758, the preface of which explains that his aim was to provide Gellert’s extremely popular poems with “easy and unaffected chorale melodies which can be sung in four parts and in choir; and also played with figured

bass on the clavier and sung by a single voice.”<sup>1</sup> To be sure, Doles appears to have had primarily solo performance in mind, and came under critical fire for overwhelming his melodies with ornaments unsuited to a choral part.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, to set religious poems to chorale-like melodies remained an obvious choice for 18<sup>th</sup>-century lied composers; the characteristic, homorhythmic, block-chordal style of the accompaniment could often have been performed by four-part choir, whether the composer explicitly specified this option or not. Writing the foreword to his 1790 collection of *Religiöse Oden und Lieder*, Johann Adam Hiller also added as an all but obvious afterthought: “By the way, [these chorale-style melodies] are printed in open score with regard to the four voices: discant, alto, tenor and bass; and can be sung by any choir, if one decides to copy out the parts.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Johann Friedrich Doles, *Melodien zu des Herrn Prof. C. F. Gellerts Geistlichen Oden und Liedern, die noch nicht mit Kirchenmelodien versehen sind, vierstimmig, mit untergelegtem Texte und fürs Clavier mit beziffertem Basse zur privat und öffentlichen Andacht gesetzt* (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1758), foreword: “leichte und ungeküstelte Choralmelodien [...], die in vier Stimmen und in Chören können gesungen, und auch mit dem Generalbasse auf dem Claviere gespielt und von einer einzelnen Stimme gesungen werden.”

<sup>2</sup> In 1760 Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg attacked the complexity of Doles’s melodies in his journal *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* (vol. 1, 251), while Johann Joachim Quantz expressed his disagreement by publishing a volume of *Neue Kirchen-Melodien* to Christian Fürchtegott Gellert’s poems (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1760) with an eye to the needs and abilities of the wider public.

<sup>3</sup> Johann Adam Hiller, *Religiöse Oden und Lieder der besten deutschen Dichter und Dichterinnen, mit Melodien zum Singen bey dem Claviere* (Hamburg: Gebrüder Herold, 1790), foreword: “Sie sind übrigens in zerstreuter Harmonie, in Rücksicht auf die vier Singstimmen: Discant, Alt, Tenor und Bass, zu

The lasting popularity of chorale-style settings is easy to understand: most musicians considered the chorale “the simplest song possible,”<sup>4</sup> which was “mostly used at divine service due to its noble simplicity,”<sup>5</sup> and thus to remain the only “true church music” forever.<sup>6</sup> Others, however, seem to have found the relative monotony of the genre artistically insufficient; a 1774 preface by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, for example, includes the unmistakably apologetic remark: “I have given certain psalms chorale melodies to please some of my friends.”<sup>7</sup> Given the rather restricted expressive capacity of mere chorale emulations, it comes as little surprise that the arguably most popular religious partsong of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was one that did preserve a clear link to the chorale style, but at the same time broke it up in more respects than one. Carl Heinrich Graun’s setting of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock’s

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Papiere gebracht, und können von jedem Chore, wenn man die Stimmen besonders ausziehen will, gesungen werden.”

<sup>4</sup> Justin Heinrich Knecht, *Kleines alphabetisches Wörterbuch der vornehmsten und interessantesten Artikel aus der musikalischen Theorie* (Ulm: Wohlersche Buchhandlung, 1795), 33: “der einfachste Gesang, der möglich ist.”

<sup>5</sup> Georg Friedrich Wolf, *Kurzgefasstes musikalisches Lexikon* (Halle: Johann Christian Hendel, 1787), 32: “wird [...] wegen seiner edlen Einfalt hauptsächlich beim Gottesdienste gebraucht.”

<sup>6</sup> The category of “true church music” was often evoked in late-18<sup>th</sup>-century theoretical writings; cf. Jürgen Heidrich, *Protestantische Kirchenmusikanschauung in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts: Studien zur Ideengeschichte “wahrer” Kirchenmusik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 162.

<sup>7</sup> Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Herrn Doctor Cramers übersetzte Psalmen mit Melodien zum Singen bey dem Claviere* (Leipzig: [author], 1774), foreword: “einigen meiner Freunde zu gefallen habe ich gewissen Psalmen Chormelodien gegeben.”

“Resurrection” (*Die Auferstehung*) was first published in 1758 (see Example 3.1),<sup>8</sup> and is in fact one of the very first *geistlich* partsongs that appeared in a collection of *lieder*. It seems to have become widely known in about a decade,<sup>9</sup> became a standard part of funeral ceremonies by around 1800 at the latest,<sup>10</sup> and maintained this function until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the early 19<sup>th</sup> century already viewed Graun’s *lied* as a kind of classic,<sup>12</sup> which was cited as a paradigmatic example of a whole “school” respected

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<sup>8</sup> *Geistliche Oden in Melodien gesetzt von einigen Tonkünstlern in Berlin* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss, 1758), 34–35. Graun’s partsong is the penultimate piece in the collection, which concludes with another four-part *lied*, Marpurg’s setting of Gellert’s *Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur*.

<sup>9</sup> Max Friedlaender pointed out that Hermes’s 1769 novel *Sophiens Reise* evokes Graun’s music twice as vehicle for other poems – a sure sign of the piece’s popularity. See Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert*, vol. I/1 (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta, 1902), 128.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Georg Christoph Grosheim, *Ueber den Verfall der Tonkunst* (Göttingen: Heinrich Dieterich, 1805), 37.

<sup>11</sup> As both Wilhelm Uhl and Max Friedlaender have noted, around 1900 the piece was still often sung at obsequies. See Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. II, 123; and Uhl, *Das deutsche Lied: Acht Vorträge* (Leipzig: Eduard Avenarius, 1900), 92. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Karl Ernst Schneider also cited “Auferstehn, ja auferstehn” as perhaps the single Graun composition – besides the regularly performed oratorio *Der Tod Jesu* – that the audience might still have been familiar with. See Schneider, *Das musikalische Lied in geschichtlicher Entwicklung*, vol. III: *Das strophische Stimmungslied* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1865), 209.

<sup>12</sup> Friedrich Heine’s *Klopstocks Aferstehungsgesang im neuen Meklenburgischen Gesangbuche für vier Singstimmen und Orchesterbegleitung*, for instance, was flatteringly compared to Graun’s partsong by an anonymous reviewer in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* [hereafter *AmZ*] 7 (1804–1805), 696: “ist im Charakter so gut, wie bey Graun, getroffen.”

**Example 3.1** Carl Heinrich Graun, “Die Auferstehung,” in *Geistliche Oden in Melodien gesetzt von einigen Tonkünstlern in Berlin* (1758).

## Ein und dreisigstes Lied.

Auf, er, stehn, ja auf, er stehen wirß du, mein Staub, nach kurzer Ruh! Unsterblich! Ze, den  
 Auf, er, stehn, ja auf, er stehen wirß du, mein Staub, nach kurzer Ruh! Unsterblich! Ze, den  
 Auf, er, stehn, ja auf, er stehen wirß du, mein Staub, nach kurzer Ruh! Unsterblich! Ze, den  
 Auf, er, stehn, ja auf, er stehen wirß du, mein Staub, nach kurzer Ruh! Unsterblich! Ze, den

## Klopstock.

## Die Auferstehung.

Auferstehn, ja auferstehn wirß du,	Wieder aufzuleben, werd ich gesät!	Tag des Dank! der Freudenbräutigam!
Mein Staub, nach kurzer Ruh!	Der Herr der Erndte geht,	Du meines Gottes Tag!
Unsterblich's Leben	Und sammelt Garben	Wenn ich im Grabe
Wird, der dich schuf, dir geben!	Uns ein, uns ein, die Korben!	Genug geschlummert habe,
Hallelujah!	Hallelujah!	Erweckst du mich!

Die

Example 3.1 (Continued)

# Ein und dreissiges Lied.

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The musical score is written on four staves. The first two staves are for the vocal line, and the last two are for the piano accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the vocal staves.

Lyrics:

wird, der dich schuf, die ge - ben! Hal - le - lu - a . . . iah.  
wird, der dich schuf, die ge - ben! Hal - le - lu - a . . . iah.  
wird, der dich schuf, die ge - ben! Hal - le - lu - a . . . iah.  
wird, der dich schuf, die ge - ben! Hal - le - lu - a . . . iah.

Stimm.

Wie den Träumenden, wirds dann uns seyn!	Ich ins Allerheiligste führt mich
Mit Jesu gehn wir ein	Meine Würder dann; lebt ich
Zu seinen Freuden!	Im Heiligthume
Der müden Pilger Leiden	Zu seines Namens Ruhme!
Sind dann nicht mehr!	Gelöst!

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by all, even though found outdated by many. A reviewer of Eucharius Florschütz's later setting of Klopstock's poem, for example, described Graun's composition as belonging to an obsolete type of "older church arias" (*älterer Kirchenarien*) that Florschütz was right to abandon,<sup>13</sup> while a review of an 1812 chorale collection noted that the lack of spirit, simplicity, and piousness was perhaps even more characteristic of Catholic than Protestant composers, and went on to specifically dismiss Graun's partsong for its overly close resemblance to *Figuralmusik*.<sup>14</sup> Admittedly, the style of this piece can plausibly be described as a kind of "compromised" chorale writing. The chorale character is preserved in the homophonic, four-part texture, as well as the harmonic rhythm; on the other hand, the use of intervals in the melody is somewhat more daring than in most traditional chorales, the rhythm is at times loosened up (cf. mm. 3, 11, and 14), and the 3/4 meter itself tends to give the piece a slightly dancelike character. In addition, both the occasional ornaments and the lilting meter suggest that, as opposed to the usual performance practice of chorales, Graun's piece was arguably to be performed in more or less strict meter. As a reviewer of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (hereafter *AmZ*) pointed out in 1811, "older German *geistliche* arias" of this kind "approached the chorale, but proceeded in measured tempo."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Anonymous review of Eucharius Florschütz's *Auferstehungsgesang von Klopstock, für Sopran, Alt, Tenor und Bass*, in *AmZ* 19 (1817), 891.

<sup>14</sup> Anonymous review of *Vollständige Sammlung der besten alten und neuen Choral-Melodien* (Munich: Giel, 1812) in *AmZ* 15 (1813), 245–250 (quote 246–247).

<sup>15</sup> Anonymous review of August Harder's *Gesänge und Lieder aus dem Christfeste von F. A. Krummacher*, vol. 1, in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 704–709 (quote 708): "in der Art der ältern deutschen geistlichen Arien, die sich dem Choral näherten, nur aber in gemessener Bewegung fortschritten."

I must also briefly mention the so-called *Singechöre*, which aimed primarily at performing and maintaining the *geistlich* repertory, but came to perform secular pieces as well.<sup>16</sup> These “sing-choirs” consisted of schoolboys, and had long formed an integral part of most schools in Germany. By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, this tradition fell into stark decline.<sup>17</sup> An oft-quoted diagnosis of this demise was written by Johann Nikolaus Forkel in 1801;<sup>18</sup> a much earlier and less known account is found in Reichardt’s 1782 *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*. The author first demonstrates the relevance of his subject by stating that

[n]one of the newer musical institutions can be, according to their nature, of such important impact as the *Singechöre* in cities and villages. Composers, singers, and even the *Volk* can be educated through them the easiest and best way.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> While in most 18<sup>th</sup>-century sources the form *Singechor* seems to prevail, the variant *Singchor* is not rare. Choirs collecting donations on the streets were often also labeled *Kurrende*.

<sup>17</sup> As Georg Schünemann remarks, the decline of these choirs did not simply imply more and more modest performance standards, but also the chorus’s increasingly becoming a “state in the state,” independent from the regular school practice itself. See Schünemann’s *Geschichte der deutschen Schulmusik*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Leipzig: Fr. Kistner & C. F. W. Siegel, 1931), 284.

<sup>18</sup> See the chapter *Von den Singechören* in Forkel’s *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, vol. II (Leipzig: Schwickertscher Verlag, 1801), 31–41.

<sup>19</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “Singechöre,” *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* 1 (1782), 118–119 (quote 118): “Keine der neuern musikalischen Anstalten kann ihrer Natur nach von so wichtigen Einfluss seyn als die Singechöre in Städten und Dörfern. Komponisten, Sänger, und selbst das Volk können dadurch auf die leichteste und beste Art gebildet werden.” Reprinted in Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Briefe, die*

Reichardt goes on to complain that this unique opportunity was unfortunately taken full advantage of only in Dresden through the eminent *Kreuzschule*, but even there standards have fallen immensely in recent years:

In olden times the great, noble musics in the Court Church; even the noble opera theater, where true, noble singers still controlled and lifted the hearts, whereby the students of the *Kreuzschule* were always used for the performance of choruses: now angloises and rondeaux in the church music and hocus-pocus with the singers of comic operettas. Even the selection of choral pieces cannot remain as free and pure, when the *Volk* is misguided by the more charming and dazzling court musics to false taste.

In most other big cities of Germany the singing institutions are often worse than in many a Saxon or Bohemian village. Instead of training the students for pure, sure intonation; fluent sight-reading; pure, firm, full maintenance of the tone, [and] its beautiful increase and decrease; in place of training their sense for correct meter, for firmness and persistence in rhythm, as well as for the diverse manners of performance for diverse musical pieces; in lieu of teaching them the theoretical knowledge necessary for this, and making them familiar and conversant with the best old church works, instead of teaching them the correct concepts of language, and instructing them in understanding and declaiming the words they sing, without which they will never sing them understandably and movingly; in place of all that the boys

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*Musik betreffend: Berichte, Rezensionen, Essays*, ed. Grita Herre and Walther Siegmund-Schultze (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1976), 139–140.

hardly get to know the notes, and then screech opera arias and operetta songs, and the students not infrequently sing an edificatory lied *Unser Heil vom Himmel stammt* and the like to the same melody to which their teacher sings *Ohne Lieb' und ohne Wein* or *Gaudeamus igitur* and the like in the smoking-room. Rather than joy and edification, which could so easily and so purely be achieved through good *Singechöre*, one must now feel abhorrence and disgust for our *Singechöre*. Not a single chorale does one hear sung purely and well conducted. Wretched lieder with the most inept, preposterous coloraturas often up to f'' [or] g'', whereby the other voices make a dead instrumental accompaniment, and the poor screeching boy ruins the lungs and the voice forever – it sickens me to speak of it any longer.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Reichardt, "Singechöre," 118: "Sonst die grossen, edeln Musiken in der Hofkirche; selbst das edle Operntheater worauf noch wahre edle Sänger die Herzen lenkten und erhoben, wobey die Kreuzschüler zur Aufführung der Chöre stets gebraucht wurden: Izt Engloisen und Rondeaus in den Kirchenmusiken und Hokusbokus bei den Sängern komischer Operetten. Selbst die Wahl der Chorstücke kann nicht so frey und rein bleiben, wo das Volk durch die reizenderen, glänzenderen Hofmusiken zu falschem Geschmack verleitet wird.

"In den meisten andern grossen Städten Deutschlands sind die Singeanstalten oft schlechter als auf vielen Sächsischen und Bömischen Dörfern. Statt die Schüler zu üben im reinen sichern Intoniren, leichten Treffen der Töne, im reinen festen vollen Aushalten des Tons, im schönen Anwachsen und Abnehmen desselben, statt ihr Gefühl zu üben für richtiges Zeitmass, für Festigkeit und Dauer im Takt und für die verschiedene Vortragart verschiedener Tonstücke; statt ihnen die dazu nöthigen theoretischen Kenntnisse beizubringen, und sie mit den besten alten Kirchenarbeiten bekannt und vertraut zu machen; statt ihnen richtige Begriffe von der Sprache beizubringen und ihnen die Worte die sie singen verstehen und deklamiren zu lehren, ohne welches sie sie nie verständlich und rührend singen

Reichardt's jeremiad may have truthfully described the sorry state of most *Singechöre*, but his suggestions for amendment apparently fell on deaf ears. The editors of the *AmZ* (founded as late as 1798) still found the topic hot enough to publish countless articles about it, which do not suggest that the situation had improved. K. W. Frantz escaped into mere wishful thinking by imagining how these choirs "would oust from the mouth of the *Volk* the miserable, nonsensical, and dirty songs with their equally miserable, uniform, and boring melodies."<sup>21</sup> And a reviewer of Christian Heinrich Paufler's 1808 "Thoughts about the public singing of students" was at a loss to grasp "why the choirs sing now everywhere [...] so many arranged pieces from operas, cantatas written in operatic style, and the like."<sup>22</sup> Around the same time, another anonymous contributor

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werden; statt alledem lernen die Knaben kaum die Noten kennen und dann Opernarien und Operettengesänge quicken; und nicht selten singen die Schüler ein Erbauungslied: *Unser Heil vom Himmel stammt* u[nd] d[er]gl[eichen] auf dieselbe Melodie auf der ihr Lehrer in der Tabagie singt: *ohne Lieb' und ohne Wein*, oder *Gaudeamus igitur* u[nd] dergl[eichen]. Statt also Freude und Erbauung, die so leicht und so rein durch gute Singechöre gewirkt werden könnten muss man izt Abscheu und Eckel für unsre Singechöre haben. Nicht einen Choral hört man rein und gutgeführt singen. Elende Lieder mit den allbernsten [sic] unsinnigsten Kolleraturen, oft bis ins *f''*, *g''*, wobey denn die übrigen Stimmen eine todte Instrumentalbegleitung machen, und wobey sich der arme quikende Knabe die Lunge und Stimme auf immer verdirbt – mich eckelt[']s weiter davon zu sprechen."

<sup>21</sup> K. W. Frantz, "Singechöre, eine nützliche Anstalt," *AmZ* 4 (1801–1802), 673–679 (quote 675): "Sie würden viele elende, unsinnige und schmutzige Lieder, mit ihren eben so elenden, einförmigen und langweiligen Melodien, aus dem Munde des Volks verdrängen."

<sup>22</sup> Anonymous review of Christian Heinrich Paufler's *Gedanken über das öffentliche Singen der Schüler auf den Gassen, nebst Nachrichten und Bitte, das Alumneum und die Currende der Kreuzschule*

diagnosed that the standards of performance had not improved much in the previous decades: “The so-called *Pauper-Chöre* are as a rule so miserable that every musically educated person readily searches for a detour when these hordes hold their processions on the streets.”<sup>23</sup> In this light, it is little surprise that, as Carl Gottlob Horstig reported in 1798, “[m]any scholars and insightful pedagogues of our times were of the opinion that one should seek to banish the *Singchöre* from the schools altogether.”<sup>24</sup> To a great extent, it was this low opinion of such choirs that inspired the grand reform of music pedagogy that started to occupy musicians and pedagogues in the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and brought its most spectacular fruits in the first quarter of the 19th. In the following two sections I shall explore two aspects of this reform movement – both adumbrated by Reichardt – that had great impact on the history of secular partsongs as well. First, I shall examine how lieder came increasingly to be seen as powerful pedagogical tools through which society at large could be educated. Second, I shall survey the development of vocal pedagogy in the period 1770–1815 with an eye to the authors’ interest in singing in more parts than one.

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(in *Dresden*) betreffend in *AmZ* 11 (1818–1809), 609–615 (quote 613–614): “warum singen denn die Chöre jetzt überall [...] so viele arrangirte Stücke aus Opern, aus opernmässig geschriebenen Kantaten u[nd] d[er]gl[eichen].”

<sup>23</sup> “Uebersicht des Zustandes der Musik in Königsberg,” *AmZ* 11 (1808–1809), 615–624, 630–640 (quote 622): “Die sogenannten *Pauper-Chöre* sind in der Regel so miserabel, dass jeder für Musik Gebildete gern einen Umweg sucht, wenn diese Horden auf den Strassen ihre Umgänge halten.”

<sup>24</sup> Carl Gottlob Horstig, “Vorschläge zu besserer Einrichtung der Singschulen in Deutschland,” *AmZ* 1 (1798–1799): 166–174, 183–189, 197–201, 214–220 (quote 167): “Viele gelehrte und einsichtsvolle Pädagogen unsrer Zeiten sind der Meynung gewesen, dass man die Singechöre gänzlich von den Schulen zu verbannen suchen müsste.”

## Learning through Songs

The notion that music may represent moral values, and should accordingly be taken seriously – if not in fact controlled – by the ruling classes, was nothing new in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century: the ancient Chinese, or Plato, had thought along these lines thousands of years earlier. Such precedents were not unknown to late-18<sup>th</sup>-century musicians. In 1789 the *Musikalische Real-Zeitung* published an essay by Georg Peter Weimar about “the force, use, and benefits of the lied,” which begins with a reference to this long-standing tradition, and goes on to adumbrate a wholesale theory about the mechanisms through which songs can exert their positive influence:

That odes and lieder (I take these for the same without engaging myself in distinctions of the one or the other), where several strophes are sung to a single melody, have had a great influence on the minds of people, their religion, morals and ways of life, and have been an important subject of these, is a thing known from the experience of all times and peoples. Indeed, the lied’s *Weise* (melody) itself – if one sings, hums, whistles, or plays it without words – already affects our hearts. The lied and its singing is the simplest and most effective medicine against every bitterness of life. How often is not a sad person entirely uplifted through that! But the lied that has the greatest effect is that which is sung in company by many people together. Through dwelling on the words the lied gains in actual singing, especially if one sings along, doubled force; far more than with mere reading, where the impression is not so lasting, and only transient, as it were. One also retains the words one sings far more than the words one reads; they penetrate the heart more deeply; that is why the ancients put all their teachings and morals into verse, and sang them.

Things are just so if I sing or play along the music myself. Then I surely feel doubly what the listener feels only in a simple way.<sup>25</sup>

Weimar's views about the "double influence" of *lieder* were shared by the late-18<sup>th</sup>-century intelligentsia, and inspired their enlightened effort to teach, as well as morally improve, the *Volk* by controlling its lied repertory. This reform movement first affected the chorale: in 1758 Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock published revised versions

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<sup>25</sup> A note by the editor explains that this article originally appeared in a non-musical publication (*Erfurter Intelligenzblatt* 20 [1788], no. 17), but I cite the text from its reprint: Georg Peter Weimar, "Hingeworfene Gedanken über die Gewalt, Gebrauch und Nutzen des Liedes," *Musikalische Real-Zeitung* 2 (1789), 63–64, 87–88, 89–91 (quote 63–64): "Dass Oden und Lieder, (ich nehme das für einerlei, ohne mich auf gewisse Unterscheidungen des einen oder andern einzulassen,) wo viele Strophen nach einerlei Melodie gesungen werden, auf die Gemüther der Menschen, ihre Religion, Sitten und Lebensart einen grossen Einfluss gehabt, und ein wichtiger Gegenstand derselben gewesen, ist eine aus der Erfahrung aller Zeiten und Völker bekannte Sache. Ja schon die Weise (Melodie) des Liedes, wenn man sie ohne Worte singt, trallert, pfeiffet oder spielet, wirkt schon auf unser Herz. Das Lied und dessen Absingen ist die leichteste und wirksamste Arzeney gegen alle Bitterkeiten des Lebens. Wie oft richtet sich nicht eine betrübte Person dadurch völlig wieder auf! Aber die höchste Wirkung hat dasjenige Lied, welches gesellschaftlich von vielen Menschen zugleich abgesungen wird. Durch das Verweilen auf den Wörtern bekommt das Lied beim wirklichen Gesange, besonders wenn man selbst mitsinget, eine doppelte Kraft, weit mehr als beim blosen Lesen, wo der Eindruck nicht so bleibend und gleichsam nur vorüberrauschend ist. Man behält auch die Worte, die man singt, weit eher als die man liest; sie dringen tiefer ins Herz, daher die Alten alle ihre Lehren und Tugendssprüche in Verse brachten und sie sangen. Es verhält sich damit eben so, als wenn ich selber bei der Musik mitsinge oder spiele. Sicher empfinde ich da doppelt, was der Zuhörer nur einfach fühlet."



of a number of old church songs, and this revolutionary act triggered a “songbook revolution” that lasted for decades and brought about considerable revision of much of the traditional chorale repertory.<sup>26</sup> As regards the texts, most revisions strove to rationalize the chorales by retouching supposedly “obscure” passages; as regards the music, composers primarily sought to adjust the melodies to the modern standards of text setting. Hiller’s 1793 chorale collection, for example, tried to eliminate “1. The useless repetitions, now of single words, now whole lines; 2. the indecorous melismatic extensions of insignificant syllables, which do not belong in our rhythmic chorale at all.”<sup>27</sup> Admittedly, some of these revisions strove to restore the presumed “authentic” form of the melodies by removing later “corruptions,” but the end result of this (in Friedrich Blume’s expression) “enlightening vandalism”<sup>28</sup> was an unoverseeable chaos: by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century there was hardly a German territory that did not have its own songbook with its special mixture of local variants and arbitrary revisions.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Franz August Cunz, *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenliedes vom 16. Jahrhundert bis auf unsere Zeit*, vol. II (Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sändig, 1855), reprint (Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969), 210–211.

<sup>27</sup> Johann Adam Hiller, *Allgemeines Choral-Melodienbuch für Kirchen und Schulen, auch zum Privatgebrauche, in vier stimmen gesetzt* (Leipzig: [author], [1793]), x: “1. Die unnützen Wiederholungen bald einzelner Wörter, bald ganzen Zeilen; 2. die unschicklichen, gar nicht in unsern rhythmischen Choral gehörigen melismatischen Dehnungen unbedeutender Sylben.”

<sup>28</sup> Friedrich Blume, *Die evangelische Kirchenmusik* (Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion M. B. H., 1931), 155: “ein aufklärerischer Vandalismus.”

<sup>29</sup> See the anonymous review of Rudolph Zacharias Becker’s *Allgemeines Choralbuch für die protestantische Kirche, vierstimmig ausgesetzt* (Gotha: Becker, 1811) in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 576–578 (quote 576).

While one might interpret this late-18<sup>th</sup>-century *Gesangbuchsrevolution* as a symptom of the Enlightenment, the chorale reform drew direct inspiration from the German philanthropic movement. The pedagogue Johann Bernhard Basedow, founder in 1774 of the first *Philanthropin* in Dessau, advocated the rationalization of religious instruction in particular:

Since there are some common points in all religions, in which they concur, so education for all children, no matter what confession they might belong to, can restrict itself to these points, which together amount to the so-called *natural religion*.<sup>30</sup>

Given that no faith seemed liberal enough to instruct in this “natural” way, Basedow proposed that the state take over all responsibility for education. In turn, the philanthropes showed deep understanding for the interests of the secular authorities, and went out of their way to provide them with obedient subjects. As one of their eminent representatives, Peter Villaume, memorably put it,

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<sup>30</sup> Quoted from Johann Bernhard Basedow’s *Methodenbuch für Väter und Mütter der Familien und Völker* (Bremen: Cramersche Buchhandlung, 1770) in Auguste Pinloche, *Geschichte des Philanthropinismus*, German ed. J. Rauschenfels and author (Leipzig: Friedrich Brandstetter, 1896), 239: “Weil es aber in allen Religionen einige gemeinsame Punkte giebt, über welche sie übereinstimmen, so kann sich der Unterricht für alle Kinder, welcher Confession sie auch angehören mögen, auf diese Punkte beschränken, welche vereinigt die sogenannte *natürliche Religion* ausmachen.”

[o]ne can say of man that he is a wheel in a great machine, society. The wheel must exactly engage in the other parts; it must be neither too big nor too finely worked out. In the first case it does not do service, it must be removed from the machine; in the latter it breaks easily.<sup>31</sup>

The principle of allowing men to grow “neither too big nor too finely worked out” was further theorized by Joachim Heinrich Campe, who distinguished between original (*ursprüngliche*) and derived (*abgeleitete*) human faculties: while the former must be developed in equal measure in all people, the latter only “in accordance with the future social standing and profession of the pupil.”<sup>32</sup> The little we know of the everyday

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<sup>31</sup> Peter Villaume, “Ob und in wiefern bei der Erziehung der Vollkommenheit des einzelnen Menschen seiner Brauchbarkeit aufzuopfern sey,” in *Allgemeine Revision des gesamten Schul- und Erziehungswesens von einer Gesellschaft praktischer Erzieher*, vol. III, ed. Joachim Heinrich Campe (Hamburg: Bohn, 1785), 435–616 (quote 525). Quoted in Ulrich Herrmann, *Aufklärung und Erziehung: Studien zur Funktion der Erziehung im Konstitutionsprozess der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert in Deutschland* (Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1993), 23. “Man kann von dem Menschen sagen, dass er ein Rad in einer grossen Maschine, der Gesellschaft, ist. Das Rad muss genau in die andern Theile greifen; es muss weder zu gross seyn, noch zu sauber ausgearbeitet werden; im ersten Fall thut es keine Dienste, es muss aus der Maschine verworfen werden; in dem letzten bricht es leicht.”

<sup>32</sup> Joachim Heinrich Campe, “Von der nöthigen Sorge für die Erhaltung des Gleichgewichts unter den menschlichen Kräften,” in *Allgemeine Revision des gesamten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*, vol. III, ed. Campe (Hamburg: Bohn, 1785), 291–434 (quote 325). Quoted in Eva Funke, *Bücher statt Prügel: Zur philanthropistischen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, 1988), 15:

“entsprechend dem künftigen Stand und Beruf des Zöglings.” Funke sharply describes such complex

routine of the *Philanthropines* suggests that it was primarily the singing of lieder that fell into the *ursprünglich* category;<sup>33</sup> in this respect, the philanthropes failed to live up to their reputation as didactic innovators, and in essence continued the earlier practice of church schools by exploiting the lieder primarily as vehicles of important texts.<sup>34</sup> This seems all the more ironic in that Friedrich Eberhard von Rochow, another key figure of the philanthropic movement, condemned the endless repetition of texts as mere “parrotism” (*Papageientum*), which cannot possibly lead to real understanding.<sup>35</sup> With Weimar’s “double influence” in mind, to sing texts in endless repetition could plausibly have been viewed as but another form of the despised *Papageientum*. However, the singing of lieder did harmonize with another important postulate of the philanthropes, namely that learning should by no means be torture for the pupil, but rather disguise itself as play. This idea was stressed in John Locke’s *Some thoughts*

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theoretic arguments for the abandonment of Rousseau’s pedagogic ideals as “mental acrobatics” (*geistige Akrobatik*), whose goal is simply to disguise the philanthropes’ opportunistic yielding to the secular authorities.

<sup>33</sup> For a brief overview of the philanthropes’ relationship with music, see Katharina Schilling-Sandvoss, *Kindgemässer Musikunterricht in den Musikpädagogischen Auffassungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 1997), 70–72.

<sup>34</sup> The most intriguing document of this tendency is a setting (in question–answer form) of the multiplication table that Friedrich Wilhelm Rust composed during his service as music teacher at the Dessau *Philanthropin*. See Wilhelm Voigt, *Die Musikpädagogik des Philanthropinismus* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Halle, 1923), supplement no. 45.

<sup>35</sup> The term is used in Rochow’s *Geschichte meiner Schulen* (Schleswig: Röhss, 1795); reprinted in *Friedrich Eberhard von Rochows sämtliche pädagogischen Schriften*, ed. Fritz Jonas and Friedrich Wienecke, vol. III (Berlin: Reimer, 1909), 25.

concerning education,<sup>36</sup> and inspired a whole series of entertaining didactic publications by the German philanthropes, the best-known of which remains Campe's 1779 *Robinson der Jüngere*, a Rousseauist adaptation of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.<sup>37</sup>

Even though the pedagogical methods of Basedow and his followers were developed for school use, they influenced many contemporary intellectuals in their efforts to educate the *Volk* at large. This connection seems hardly surprising if one recalls that the late 18<sup>th</sup> century did not assume an unbridgeable break between children and adults – Carl Spazier, for one, proclaimed in 1800 that “[t]he ordinary man is what we, too, mostly are: a big child forever.”<sup>38</sup> If so, it seemed only logical to treat those “ordinary men” the same way as children, and develop tools of what Heinz Otto Lichtenberg later dubbed “entertaining peasant-enlightenment” (*unterhaltsame Bauernaufklärung*).<sup>39</sup> As regards music, the publication of revised songbooks proved

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<sup>36</sup> John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: A. and J. Churchill, 1693). In a mere fifteen years the book was translated into German as *Herrn Johann Locks Unterricht von Erziehung der Kinder* (Leipzig: Thomas Fritsch, 1708).

<sup>37</sup> Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Robinson der Jüngere, zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder* (Hamburg: [author], 1779). The book soon appeared in English as *Robinson the Younger* (Hamburg: Bohn, 1781).

<sup>38</sup> Carl Spazier, “Einige Worte über deutschen Volksgesang,” *AmZ* 3 (1800–1801), 73–81, 89–94, 105–111 (quote 78): “Der gemeine Mann ist, was auch wir grösstentheils sind, immerdar ein grosses Kind.” It may be worth recalling that Basedow's pioneering 1770 *Methodenbuch* was also meant for more general use, as the full title explains, “for fathers and mothers of the families and the peoples” (cf. note 30).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Heinz Otto Lichtenberg, *Unterhaltsame Bauernaufklärung: Ein Kapitel Volksbildungsgeschichte* (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1970).

the obvious first step in this respect; by 1792 Johann Ludwig Ewald publicly called on every composer – “almost the only artist that can still have an impact on the *Volk* in protestant lands” – to compile a general lied collection for the common people.<sup>40</sup> For

the *Volk* welcomes what is written for it, and needs such lieder like it needs good bread. [... The husbandman] sings miserable, nonsensical, dirty songs, often with just as miserable, uniform, boring melodies. Not as if he had chosen them from taste, but because he knows nothing better.<sup>41</sup>

Less than a decade later, Rudolph Zacharias Becker published his *Mildheimisches Liederbuch*, which realized what Ewald could hardly have dreamed of: a collection of “518 gay and serious songs about all things in the world and all circumstances of human life that one can sing of.”<sup>42</sup> The arrangement and layout of the volume suggest

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<sup>40</sup> Johann Ludwig Ewald, “Einige Wünsche an Tonkünstler, die sie erfüllen können,” *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 1 (1791–1792), 169–170 (quote 169): “dem *Tonkünstler*, fast dem Einzigen Künstler, der in protestantischen Ländern noch auf das Volk wirken kann.”

<sup>41</sup> Ewald, “Einige Wünsche,” 170: “das Volk nimmt gern’ an, was für es gesetzt ist; und bedarf solcher Lieder, wie es gutes Brod bedarf. [... Der Landmann] singt denn – elende, unsinnige, schmutzige Lieder, oft in eben so elenden, einförmigen, langweiligen Melodien. Nicht, als ob er sie aus Geschmack wählte; sondern weil er nichts Besseres kennt.”

<sup>42</sup> Rudolph Zacharias Becker (ed.), *Mildheimisches Liederbuch von 518 lustigen und und ernsthaften Gesängen über alle Dinge in der Welt und alle Umstände des menschlichen Lebens, die man besingen kann* (Gotha: Beckersche Buchhandlung, 1799). It should be noted that “Mildheim” is not a real geographic location, but is used as a telling name for an ideal community – a “mild home.” The *Liederbuch* in fact appeared as a kind of supplement to Becker’s *Noth- und Hülf-Büchlein für*

that what Becker had in mind was a secular counterpart to the *geistliche* songbooks; at the same time, his slightly “Big Brotherish” effort to prescribe for each and every occasion what the people should sing was found disquieting even then. As an anonymous essay on “The use of music for the ennoblement of husbandmen” noted in 1805, for the average reader “this rather means to bind his spirit in a moral yoke, and put him off singing.”<sup>43</sup>

Despite such worries and its dismissal as a “chaotic quodlibet” by some teachers,<sup>44</sup> the *Mildheimisches Liederbuch* became one of the most popular books of its time, which was reprinted five times until 1810, and saw a fully revised new edition (including no fewer than 800 lieder) that was republished as late as 1837.<sup>45</sup> This popularity notwithstanding, few contemporaries appear to have shared Ewald’s Rousseauian optimism that the unspoiled taste of the *Volk* could in itself guarantee

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*Bauersleute, oder lehrreiche Freuden- und Trauer-Geschichte des Dorfs Mildheim*, 2 vols. (Gotha: Becker / Leipzig: G. J. Göschen, 1788), which includes characters like the parish priests Wohlgemut (“cheerful”) and Starke (“strong”), or the intelligent peasant Wilhelm Denker (“thinker”).

<sup>43</sup> “Ueber die Benutzung der Musik zur Veredlung der Landleute, als Sache des Staates,” *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 665–673 (quote 671): “vielmehr heisst das, seinen Geist in ein moralisches Joch einzwängen und ihm das Singen verleiden.”

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, Friedrich Wilhelm Lindner, “Was ist bis jetzt für die Gesangs-Bildung geschehen? Historisch-kritisch beantwortet,” *AmZ* 13 (1811), 3–8, 17–23, 33–43, 49–59 (quote 55): “dieses chaotische Quodlibet.” The sharpness of this characterization is undermined by the fact that a page later Lindner calls another similar anthology, August Ludwig Hoppenstedt’s *Lieder für Volksschulen* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition; Hannover: Hahn, 1800) a “chaotisch zusammengetragenes Quodlibet.”

<sup>45</sup> For such details of reception, see the epilog by Günter Häntzschel to the facsimile edition of the 1815 edition (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971).

widespread acceptance to the newly written *Volkslieder*; the majority view was rather that it surely would not hurt to also actively stimulate this process by various kinds of “imprinting,” so to speak. The reader will have found Ewald’s description of those “miserable, uniform, boring” lieder familiar; these are the same words that Frantz used ten years later in explaining what kind of songs the *Singechöre* could help suppress.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, even if the “blowing from the tower” by town musicians was also seen as an effective solution, most authors were convinced that it was “four-part choral singing on the streets” that could do the most for propagating a new melody.<sup>47</sup> The reason for the unique power of this method was no doubt that, as an anonymous essay formulated in 1804, singing in several parts was “indeed a magnificent thing, the pleasure of which is grounded deep in nature.”<sup>48</sup> Active participation in this kind of pleasure had long remained the privilege of the musically educated few, but as time passed the – as

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<sup>46</sup> For Frantz’s characterization, see note 21.

<sup>47</sup> See the proposals of an anonymous contributor in “Authentischer Bericht über die Einführungsart neuer und sonst unbekannter Chormelodien bey der evangelischen Gemeinde in Biberach,” *AmZ* 6 (1803–1804), 285–290 (quote 287). A decade earlier Johann Adam Hiller had suggested very similar methods, emphasizing that the educator can nevertheless best reach the adult population indirectly, by teaching their children. See Hiller, *Allgemeines Choral-Melodienbuch*, x.

<sup>48</sup> L., “Einige Bemerkungen über Volksgesang,” *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 33–40 (quote 36): “Um den mehrstimmigen Gesang ist es allerdings eine herrliche Sache, woran das Wohlgefallen tief in der Natur begründet liegt.” At the same time, the author insists that this attractive practice should remain restricted to *geistliche* lieder and the chorale, since the true *Volk* will always view with suspicion and mockery the use of church-associated practices in connection with secular topics.



David Gramit would have it – “advocates of serious musical culture”<sup>49</sup> came to realize that the *Volk* could in fact also literally “take part(s)” in choral music, and thus benefit from those pedagogically minded lieder more than ever.

### **Learning to Sing**

As John Butt has noted, “the standards of singing both in school and in German musical life had declined precipitously by the mid eighteenth century.”<sup>50</sup> I have already touched upon one aspect of this crisis, namely that the *Singechöre*, which should have functioned as flagships, as it were, of German vocal culture, had themselves paid less and less attention to the proper musical education of choirboys, as well as to correct performance of the *geistlich* repertory. But the situation was no better as regards the musical instruction of average schoolboys. In virtually any German book on music education from the late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the first thing that strikes the eye is the complaint that “[e]ven the general chorale singing in the churches is still a rough clamor without pure intonation and harmony.”<sup>51</sup> Of course, the decline of church-based singing education was by no means independent from the fact that the authority of the church itself, and especially its privilege on

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<sup>49</sup> David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 2.

<sup>50</sup> John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 166.

<sup>51</sup> Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, *Gedanken über den Einfluss der Musik auf die Bildung eines Volks, und über deren Einführung in den Schulen der Königl. Dänischen Staaten* (Copenhagen: Christian Gottlob Prost, 1790), 4–5: “So gar der allgemeine Choralgesang in den Kirchen ist noch ein rohes Geschrey ohne reine Intonation und Zusammenstimmung.”

teaching, had come to be questioned by many. Still, most musicians appear to have preferred staying on the safe side, and were happy to advertise their educational reforms as aimed primarily at restituting proper chorale singing among the *Volk*, even if they might in fact have had wider musical goals in mind.<sup>52</sup> It is thus little wonder that the arguably most important reformer of German singing education in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Johann Adam Hiller, developed his methods in a predominantly secular

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<sup>52</sup> A famous example of such pragmatic opportunism appears in the response by Goethe and Schiller to Zelter's memorandum regarding the foundation of an institute for music education in Prussia: "For the effect's sake, however, we wanted to urge you in general to talk more about the advantages that religion and morals draw from such an institution than about those that art can expect. To motivate people for the good we are convinced of, we must not make use of our arguments, but must consider approximately what would be theirs." Quoted in Georg Schünemann, *Carl Friedrich Zelter der Begründer der Preussischen Musikpflege* (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1932), 21: "Nun wollten wir aber, um der Wirkung willen, Ihnen ans Herz legen, dass Sie ... überhaupt mehr von den Vortheilen welche Religion und Sitten aus einer solchen Anstalt ziehen, als von denjenigen sprächen welche die Kunst zu erwarten hat. Zu dem Guten, von dem wir überzeugt sind, die Menschen zu bewegen, dürfen wir uns nicht unserer Argumente bedienen, sondern wir müssen bedenken was ohngefähr die ihrigen wären." As late as 1818 the music director of the University of Göttingen, Johann August Günther Heinroth, insisted that "[t]he most correct measure of [the quality of] singing with the ordinary man is undoubtedly the church. [...] Only the songs in the churches [...] can determine the higher or lower level of singing among the middle and lower classes of the *Volk*." See his *Ein paar Worte über die Vernachlässigung des Gesanges im Allgemeinen* (Göttingen, 1818), 13: "Der richtigste Gesangsmesser bei dem gemeinen Manne ist ohnzweifel die Kirche. [...] Nur die Gesänge in den Kirchen [...] können für die höhere oder niedere Stufe des Gesanges unter der mittleren und niedern Volksclasse entscheiden."

context, and started to apply them more specifically to chorale singing only in the last decade of his life, after he had been appointed cantor at the Thomasschule at Leipzig.

While Hiller's two grand singing treatises should be investigated in detail in any survey of 18<sup>th</sup>-century vocal pedagogy, for the present study they are of relatively little significance. His 1774 *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange* seems concerned almost exclusively with the professional solo singer; although he encourages teachers to make their students sing chorales in four parts, the reader gets no specific advice other than not to let them ornament the melody.<sup>53</sup> Nor does the collection of exercises that Hiller published with the book contain examples in more parts than one; furthermore, the 1780 sequel, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-zierlichen Gesange*, says nothing more about choral singing than the basics.<sup>54</sup> And Hiller's approach was by no means exceptional: other important treatises of the period, like

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<sup>53</sup> See Johann Adam Hiller, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange, mit hinlänglichen Exempeln* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1774), 221–222.

<sup>54</sup> See Johann Adam Hiller, *Anweisung zum musikalisch-zierlichen Gesange, mit hinlänglichen Exempeln* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1780), 104–107. Hiller's treatises were meant for solo singers, in which context choral singing seemed more a kind of school exercise than a topic important in its own right. At the same time, his omissions reflect another postulate of his: as Max Schipke argued, "Hiller's vocal teachings stand exclusively in the service of musical art. [...] Hiller was thus an excellent music teacher, an artist – not an educator proper, nor yet a humanist in the philanthropic sense of the world." See Schipke's *Der deutsche Schulgesang von Johann Adam Hiller bis zu den Falkschen Allgemeinen Bestimmungen (1775–1875): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gesangpädagogik* (Berlin: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1913), 37: "Hillers Gesanglehre steht ausschliesslich im Dienste der musikalischen Kunst [...] Hiller war demnach ein trefflicher Lehrer der Musik, ein Künstler, – nicht ein eigentlicher Erzieher, noch nicht ein Menschenfreund im philanthropistischen Sinne."

Christoph Friedrich Wilhelm Nopitsch's *Versuch eines Elementarbuches der Singkunst*, or Georg Friedrich Wolf's *Unterricht in der Singekunst* (both of which appeared in 1784) also in essence ignore singing even in two parts.<sup>55</sup> Thus, it remained to Johann Jacob Walder's *Anleitung zur Singkunst*, first published in 1788, to outline a "gradual series of exercises and examples for students" wherein singing in more than one part plays a central role.<sup>56</sup>

In stark contrast to Hiller and his peers, Walder introduces two-part singing almost at the very start: after a mere six examples meant for solo singing, he turns to two-part writing in exercise no. 7 (see Example 3.2). Since this might easily have proved too much for the average student, Walder carefully explains how the performance of this exercise should be prepared in the classroom:

[T]he teacher makes his students stand in two lines opposite each other, takes his place at the harpsichord between the two lines, lets each line sing the first, and then the second part without the words, only with the names of the notes; then sing the words the same way in alternation, so that they be prepared to produce both parts together, the one line the first, and the other line the second

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<sup>55</sup> Christoph Friedrich Wilhelm Nopitsch, *Versuch eines Elementarbuches der Singkunst, vor Trivial und Normalschulen sistematisch entworfen* (Nördlingen: Verfasser, 1784); Georg Friedrich Wolf, *Unterricht in der Singekunst* (Halle: Johann Christian Hendel, 1784). Nopitsch's book is explicitly meant for absolute beginners, while Wolf's treatise was strongly influenced by Hiller's views – in this light, their modest interest in multipart singing is little surprise.

<sup>56</sup> Johann Jacob Walder, *Anleitung zur Singkunst, in kurzen Regeln für Lehrer und in stufenweiser Reyhe von Uebungen und Beyspielen für Schüler, zum Gebrauch der vaterländischen Schulen* (Zurich: Orell, Gessner, Füssli und Compagnie, 1788).

1  
Ich lo - be Gott zu mei - ner Freud,

2  
Ich lo - be Gott zu mei - ner Freud,

Bass  
6 6 6

2  
In Zeit und dann in E - wig - keit.

B  
In Zeit und dann in E - wig - keit.  
6 6 4 3

**Example 3.2** Johann Jacob Walder, “Ich liebe Gott zu meiner Freud,”  
in *Anleitung zur Singkunst* (1788).

in alternation. [...] The students [...] get used to the subordinated tones of the second part. [...] From all that the conclusion will easily be drawn that one must not in any example make the students practice [only] the first part, but both in alternation, so that the brevity of the example and the melodic course of its first part do not too soon become so familiar that through this the second part becomes difficult, and the attention, as well as the sight-reading of the music, is hindered.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Walder, *Anleitung zur Singkunst*, vi–vii: “der Lehrer setzt seine Schüler an zwo Reihen gegen einander; er nimt seinen Platz am Flügel zwischen beyden Reihen, lässt jede Reihe die erste und dann die zweyte Stimme ohne die Worte, nur mit Benennung der Noten, so dann auf gleiche Weise

Walder's prime concern is evidently to make his students capable of simultaneous singing (of their own part) and listening (to the other), and so to develop their sense for intervals and harmony as soon as possible. Indeed, his first musical example is nothing more than a typical realization of the famous *regola dell'ottava* exercise that one repeatedly finds in contemporary treatises on figured bass and harmony: the top voice includes simple scalewise motion from the tonic note up to its octave and then backwards, while the bass is supposed to make sense, as it were, of all this harmonically by adding a bass note under each one of the melody.<sup>58</sup> This emphatically harmonic approach is further strengthened by the fact that Walder adds an instrumental bass to all of his two-part examples, as well as the four three-part exercises that appear at the very end of his treatise.

Given that Walder's first six examples – those for but a single voice – all consist of mere note-heads without meter or rhythm, his treatise essentially ignores

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abwechslend die Worte singen, damit sie vorbereitet werden, beyde Stimmen zusammen, die eine Reihe die erste und die Andre Reihe die zweyte Stimme abwechselnd, herauszubringen. [...] Die Schüler [...] gewöhnen sich an die untergeordneten Töne der zweyten Stimme. [...] Aus allem dem wird die Bemerkung leicht gezogen werden: dass man die Schüler bey keinem Exempel die erste Stimme, sondern beyde zugleich abwechselnd müsse üben lassen, damit die Kürze der Exempeln und der melodische Gang der ersten Stimme derselben nicht zu bald so bekannt werde, dass dadurch die zweyte Stimme erschweret, und die Aufmerksamkeit und das Lesen vom Blattweg gehindert werden müsste.”

<sup>58</sup> While such exercises were ubiquitous in figured bass treatises, Schipke has suggested that it may have been this very piece by Waldner that inspired many vocal pedagogues of the next generation to include octave-length scales up and down among their earliest examples. See Schipke's *Der deutsche Schulgesang*, 87–88.

solo performance: it is only with the appearance of a second vocal part that “real” singing and music-making begins. This approach came to influence a number of music pedagogues in the German-speaking lands;<sup>59</sup> in the short run, however, colleagues like Nopitsch or Wolf could only read *Anleitung zur Singkunst* with feelings of envy. For Walder’s treatise was published in Zurich, within a music culture that, at least as regards choral singing, was far more developed than that of any other German-speaking land. Even though Ulrich Zwingli, leader of the Zurich Reformation, had striven to banish all secular pleasure from his church (thus expelling not only the organ, but also pictures altogether), already during the 16<sup>th</sup> century congregational singing was accepted into the service. Furthermore, Claude Goudimel’s psalm settings (in the German translation of Ambrosius Lobwasser) were sung not merely in church, but outside of it as well – so much so that the solo lied could gain little foothold in Switzerland until the 1769 publication of Johann Kaspar Lavater’s *Schweitzerlieder* with music by Johannes Schmidlin.<sup>60</sup> Inevitably, regular performance of the Goudimel psalms brought about a facility in four-part choral singing that astounded foreigners, as the following 1791 report by Reichardt about an earlier visit of his to Zurich amply testifies:

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<sup>59</sup> Lindner, for example, acknowledged that he used Waldner’s treatise in class every day, and suggested that it was by far the best groundwork to a truly elementary vocal treatise yet to be written. See Lindner’s “Was ist bis jetzt für die Gesangs-Bildung geschehen?,” 51–52. By 1828, the *Anleitung zur Singkunst* reached its sixth edition.

<sup>60</sup> See Albert Nef, *Das Lied in der deutschen Schweiz, Ende des 18. und Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich: Hug, 1909), 21.

Nothing has ever penetrated me more than here the four-part singing in church. The whole congregation sings the common psalm melodies of the reformed [people] in four parts from music, which is printed in the songbooks besides the verses. Girls and boys sing the discant, adults the alto, and the older and old men the tenor and the bass. One knows the dignity and boldness of some psalm melodies in the old church tonalities, wholly in the diatonic mode; they were intoned quite purely, oftentimes in a way that is only possible if the songs are already taught early in the schools, and are sung afterwards the whole life long also outside of the church on frequent occasions. So it is indeed in Switzerland. Very often, as I was searching after true, old folksongs among the husbandmen on the fields and in the taverns, I had the opportunity to hear a four-part psalm. Whoever knows only our usual, so out-of-tune, screeching, unison church singing, will hardly be able to form an idea of the dignity and power of such a church song struck up in four parts by several hundred people of all ages. I was truly in an altogether new state, my heart was so full and the chest still so tight, I felt so happy, and I cried light tears.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, "Kirchenmusik," *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* 2 (1791), 16–18 (quote 16): "Nie hat mich etwas mehr durchdrungen, als hier der vierstimmige Kirchengesang. Die ganze Gemeinde singt die bey den Reformirten gewöhnliche Psalmmelodien vierstimmig nach Noten, die in den Liederbüchern neben den Versen abgedruckt sind. Mädchen und Knaben singen den Discant, Erwachsene den Alt und die Aeltern und alten Männer den Tenor und Bass: Man kennt die Würde und Kühnheit einiger Psalmmelodien in den alten Kirchentonarten, ganz im diatonischen Geschlecht, die wurden ziemlich rein intonirt, oft so wie es nur seyn kann, wenn die Gesänge gleich früh in den Schulen gelehrt und hernach durchs ganze Leben auch ausser der Kirche bey häufigen Veranlassungen gesungen werden. So ist es wirklich in der Schweiz. Sehr oft wenn ich unter Landleuten auf dem Felde und in



If Reichardt's sentimental tone may not have been general at the time, his admiration for the Zurich choral tradition certainly was – the more so, since Switzerland had long been considered a kind of ideal land, where the *Volk* supposedly led its simple, idyllic life among the snowy mountains that cut people off from the damaging influence of modern civilization.<sup>62</sup> No wonder that Northern German musicians concerned with the restitution of “pure” singing kept an eye on the Swiss tradition, and came to pay more and more attention to choral singing.<sup>63</sup> Hiller's 1792 *Kurze und erleichterte Anweisung zum Singen* provides an obvious example: in contrast to his earlier treatises

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Schenken nach alten ächten Volkliedern spürte, bekam ich einen vierstimmigen Psalm zu hören. Wer nur unsern gewöhnlichen so unreinen kreuschenden einstimmigen Kirchengesang kennt, wird sich kaum eine Vorstellung von der Würde und Kraft eines solchen vierstimmigen von vielen hundert Menschen jedes Alters angestimmten Kirchengesanges machen können. Ich war wirklich in einem ganz neuen Zustande, mir war das Herz so voll und doch die Brust so enge, mir war so wohl und ich weinte die hellen Thränen.”

<sup>62</sup> Reichardt himself shared this opinion: a decade earlier he suggested that “[p]erhaps only among the Swiss mountaineers does one find *Volkslieder* equally pristine in music and words.” See his “Volklieder,” *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* 1 (1782), 99–100 (quote 99): “Vielleicht nur bey den schweizerischen Bergbewohnern findet man solche Volklieder die in Gesang und Wort gleich ursprünglich sind.” (While my translation does use the more common *Volkslied* variant, it should be noted that Reichardt himself was apparently consistent in omitting the letter *s* whenever he used the term.)

<sup>63</sup> As early as 1790 Johann Abraham Peter Schulz suggested that, through consistent efforts at better educating the teachers themselves, all students could eventually learn to sing chorales in four parts. See Schulz, *Gedanken*, 13–14.

of 1774 and 1780, this one already includes two-part exercises, harmonized “chorales” (to texts by Gellert), as well as small *Chorarien*.<sup>64</sup> Admittedly, this “short and lightened” textbook – purportedly intended “for schools in towns and villages” – still seems little concerned with how average students could cope with the astonishingly virtuosic melismas of the two-part “Amen” exercises (on pages 43–48), let alone the concluding *Fugette*. Nevertheless, Georg Peter Weimar soon complemented this treatise with “a pendant to Hiller’s shorter and lightened singing instruction,” which presents a gradual series of examples in a truly Walderian manner, thereby systematically preparing the student for choral singing from the very start.<sup>65</sup> In Part One, Weimar discusses the intervals one by one, and explains that

[a]t the end of each interval, you will find attached a small lied, which is composed according to the preceding interval. I have also added to it a second voice, if you perhaps want to make a test: whether your students in the 2<sup>nd</sup> discant can strip their ears away from the 1<sup>st</sup> [discant].<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Johann Adam Hiller, *Kurze und erleichterte Anweisung zum Singen, für Schulen in Städten und Dörfern* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Junius, 1792).

<sup>65</sup> Georg Peter Weimar, *Versuch kurzer praktischer Uebungs-Exempel allerley Art für Schüler die im Gesange zum sogenannten Notentreffen oder vom Blattsingen angeleitet werden sollen: Ein Pendant zu Hillers kürzeren und erleichterten Singeanweisung* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, [1793]).

<sup>66</sup> Weimar, *Versuch*, 6: “Am Ende jedes Intervalls werden Sie ein Liedchen angehängt finden, das nach eben dem vorigen Intervalle abgefasst ist. Ich habe ihm noch eine zweyte Stimme beygefügt, wenn Sie etwann damit einen Versuch machen wollen: ob Ihre Schüler bey dem 2ten Diskante ihr Ohr von dem 1sten abziehen können?”

In Part Two Weimar provides “two-part contrapuntal pieces in canonic style, which you may want to call duets for the time being”; finally, Part Three includes “small *canones* in three and four parts.”<sup>67</sup> Intriguingly, the author suggests that his method is substantially different from the haphazard music education in earlier school practice, and brings about a long-awaited reform: “since Basedow’s times one philanthropicized here and there in other sciences; but for voice we still had nothing more than our arid singing lessons.”<sup>68</sup> Indeed, at least as regards Northern Germany, Weimar’s textbook may be seen as opening a new era of music education – not merely because of its systematic “philanthropicizing” approach, but also its special emphasis on singing in two and more parts, which may have made many pedagogues realize for the first time that this level of vocal sophistication was not necessarily beyond the reach of average students. Accordingly, Carl Spazier’s *Melodien zu Hartungs Liedersammlung zum Gebrauch für Schulen*<sup>69</sup> features a number of pieces for three and even four vocal parts, and the musical supplement to Hoppenstedt’s 1793 *Lieder*

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<sup>67</sup> Weimar, *Versuch*, 8–9: “Bey der zweyten Abtheilung finden Sie zweystimmige gebundene Sätze im kanonischen Style, die Sie einstweilen Duetten nennen mögen. [...] In der dritten Abtheilung treffen Sie endlich kleine drey und vierstimmige *Canones* an.”

<sup>68</sup> Weimar, *Versuch*, 10: “Ich sahe, dass man seit Basedows Zeiten hie und da in andern Wissenschaften philanthropirte; aber für den Gesang hatten wir noch immer nichts weiter, als unsere dürrn Singestunden.” An intriguing description of such “arid singing lessons” is given in Friedrich Wilke, “Ueber den jetzigen Verfall des Kirchengesanges, und über seine Verbesserung,” *AmZ* 18 (1816), 97–103, 113–117 (quote 101).

<sup>69</sup> Carl Spazier, *Melodien zu Hartungs Liedersammlung zum Gebrauch für Schulen und zur einsamen und gesellschaftlichen Unterhaltung am Klavier* (Berlin: Lange, 1794). Spazier had direct connections to the Dessau *Philanthropin*, where he served as teacher and supervisor.

*für Volksschulen* proved equally ambitious: as a reviewer of the 1800 second edition remarked in apparent astonishment, “some of the lieder here are in four real parts.”<sup>70</sup>

To be sure, it seems difficult to assess how often such pieces would actually have been sung chorally. A June 1804 article in the *AmZ*, for example, reports on four-part performances of songs from the *Mildheimisches Liederbuch* in so enthusiastic a manner as to make one doubt that this practice was common.<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, four-part chorale singing seems to have spread with surprising speed in many regions,<sup>72</sup> and already in November 1803 Johann Friedrich Rochlitz described how a schoolmaster could achieve this spontaneously, as it were: if the accompanist always plays the same bass note for note, less musical men can learn to sing along the bass line, while more musical members of the congregation may experiment with adding tones here and there, thus gradually developing a proper middle voice.<sup>73</sup> Even though some contemporaries appear to have sincerely believed in the feasibility of such

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<sup>70</sup> See the anonymous review “Ueber die zweyte Auflage der Lieder für Volksschulen und die Grundsätze ihrer Bearbeitung von A. L. Hoppenstedt,” *AmZ* 2 (1799–1800), 886–891 (quote 888): “manches Lied ist hier regelrecht vierstimmig.”

<sup>71</sup> “Brief eines Reisenden an die Redaktion,” *AmZ* 6 (1803–1804), 601–603 (quote 601). The author spells out how the most talented schoolboys were taught during the winter to sing in four parts, and reminds the reader that the final goal of such efforts is to help the whole community give up their old, “demoralizing” (*Sitten verderbende*) lieder in favor of the new repertory propagated via choral singing.

<sup>72</sup> See, for instance, the account by Johann Friedrich Christmann in his “Tableau über das Musikwesen im Württembergischen,” *AmZ* 2 (1799–1800), 71–80, 118–128, 139–144 (quote 78).

<sup>73</sup> Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, “Feyer des Andenkens der heiligen Cäcilia,” *AmZ* 6 (1803–1804), 97–109, 113–129 (quote 121–122).

spontaneous training,<sup>74</sup> in a few years' time such optimism started to vanish. An 1813 article signed as *W.* posed the provocative question already in the title: "Would a congregation gain in edification, if they sang the chorale in four parts during service?" The author responded in the negative, for the congregation "would then be much too distracted from what, and why, it actually sings through attention to the notes, purity and declamation of the tones."<sup>75</sup> On a similar note, G. E. Fischer suggested in 1817 that four-part singing would overload the chorales with art, and so inadvertently turn the church into a concert hall:

When one sings in four parts, the first goal of edification steps into the background; one comes together to perform an artwork; each voice must exactly conform to the others, and not, as with unison singing, take notice (*unconsciously*) of the directing organ; art should not disturb the *Volk*, but move and support it. [...] If all sing the same, word for word, note for note: that is the uplifting thing, and just as all the overtones linger if I heavily pluck a

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<sup>74</sup> See, for example, the anonymous essay "Ueber die Benutzung der Musik zur Veredlung der Landleute, als Sache des Staates," *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 665–673 (quote 669): "Ein Grundbass wäre hinreichend, damit durch öftere Wiederholung desselben und der darauf gebauten Mittelstimmen, die Gemeinde allmählig zum vierstimmigen Gesang gewöhnt würde."

<sup>75</sup> *W.*, "Würde eine Gemeinde an Erbauung gewinnen, wenn sie beym Gottesdienste den Choral vierstimmig sänge?," *AmZ* 15 (1813), 341–345 (quote 342): "die Gemeinde würde alsdann durch Aufmerksamkeit auf Noten, Reinheit und Vortrag der Töne, viel zu sehr abgezogen von dem, was, und weshalb, sie ja doch eigentlich singt." Judged from the text itself, the author may easily be none other than Friedrich Wilke (see also note 92 below).

string, so does a host of emotions sound with the forceful unison of all voices.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to these aesthetic objections, both authors felt that four-part singing would exceed the musical abilities of most congregations. *W.* called the whole issue a *pium desiderium*, and Fischer suggested that there would have been little hope for success without teaching at least the basics of musical notation, as well as placing singers of the different parts separate from each other – and went on to admit that such disconnection of family members would have seemed inconceivable even to him.<sup>77</sup>

Even if to introduce four-part singing for adults proved mere wishful thinking in the end, the conviction that this practice could, and indeed should, be implemented in schools remained widespread. Reviewers of the *AmZ* in particular spared no effort to establish choral singing as an integral part of singing instruction. Nina d'Aubigny

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<sup>76</sup> G. E. Fischer, “Ueber die Einführung des vierstimmigen Choralgesanges in den evangelischen Gottesdienst,” *AmZ* 19 (1817), 5–12 (quote 10–11): “So wie vierstimmig gesungen wird, so tritt der erste Zweck der Erbauung in den Hintergrund; man kommt zusammen, ein Kunstwerk aufzuführen; jede Stimme soll sich nach der andern genau richten, und nicht, wie beym einstimmigen Gesang, (*bewusstlos*) auf die leitende Orgel hören; die Kunst soll das Volk nicht stören, sondern bewegen und tragen. [...] Dass alle, Wort für Wort, Ton für Ton, dasselbe singen: das ist das Erhebende, und wie, wenn ich eine Saite stark anschlage, die ganze harmonische Folge nachklingt, so tönt bey dem kräftigen Einklang aller Stimmen ein ganzes Heer von Gefühlen mit.”

<sup>77</sup> See *W.*, “Würde eine Geimende an Erbauung gewinnen?,” 345; Fischer “Ueber die Einführung,” 6 and 8. The notion that general music education could be much improved by a simplified notational system had already been raised by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and was revived by several theorists of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

von Engelbrunner's widely read *Briefe an Nathalie über den Gesang* (1803), as well as the current textbook of the Paris Conservatoire, were heavily criticized for their omission of this topic, but even Johann Friedrich Schubert's *Singschule*, which did not altogether ignore choral singing, was found insufficient due to the lack of "three-part solfeggi, by which the middle voice should be practiced."<sup>78</sup> Unsurprisingly, when the *AmZ* asked Friedrich Wilhelm Lindner, teacher of the *Bürgerschule* in Leipzig, to summarize his method late 1805, he explained how his students started out by practicing scales in parallel thirds, then performed two-part hymns, and gradually improved to reach the ultimate goal of vocal education by singing chorales in four parts.<sup>79</sup> Carl Gottlieb Hering's *Neue praktische Singschule für Kinder* also starts to prepare the student for choral singing at an early stage: the first volume (1807) includes two-part exercises and lieder, and the second (1808) two three-part songs as an appendix (although Lindner's review emphasized that, while these examples were

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<sup>78</sup> See the anonymous reviews dealing with Nina d'Aubigny von Engelbrunner, *Briefe an Nathalie über den Gesang, als Beförderung der häuslichen Glückseligkeit und des geselligen Vergnügens* (Leipzig: Voss, 1803) in *AmZ* 5 (1802–1803), 837–848, 853–861 (quote 856); *Méthode de chant du Conservatoire de musique* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de musique, 1804) in *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 293–303, 309–315 (quote 314); Johann Friedrich Schubert, *Neue Singe-Schule oder gründliche und vollständige Anweisung zur Singkunst* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1804]) in *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 3–13, 24–32, 59–62, 88–93 (quote 62): "Auch vermisst Rec. [Recensent] dreystimmige Solfeggi, wovon die *mittelste* Stimme geübt werden soll."

<sup>79</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Lindner, "Ueber den Gesang in der Bürgerschule zu Leipzig," *AmZ* 8 (1805–1806), 145–158, 161–173 (quote 164).

indeed useful, there were too few of them).<sup>80</sup> But the pedagogue who came fully to realize the implications of Walder's treatise, and elaborated the method of choral singing education in excruciating detail, was another Swiss, Hans Georg Nägeli.<sup>81</sup>

Nägeli's nationality is relevant not merely for reminding us of Switzerland's highly developed choral culture, but also for partly explaining his special interest in the work of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, the famous Swiss reformer of education. The important aspect of Pestalozzi's method in this context is that he revived the age-old wisdom *natura non facit saltum* ("nature makes no leaps") by starting out with the child's most basic perceptions, and basing each new step on the preceding one in a (supposedly) gapless process.<sup>82</sup> Nägeli's first major theoretical work, the

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<sup>80</sup> Carl Gottlieb Hering, *Neue praktische Singschule für Kinder, nach einer leichten Lehrart bearbeitet und als ein Beytrag zur Vermehrung häuslicher Freuden für Eltern und Erzieher herausgegeben*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer der Jünger, 1807–1808). Linder's critique appears in his "Was ist für die Gesangs-Bildung geschehen?," 49.

<sup>81</sup> For a good overview of the musical, as well as intellectual, background of Nägeli's pedagogical efforts, see the chapter "Das 18. Jahrhundert im Zeichen der Aufklärung und Rousseaus" in Antoine-Elisée Cherbulez, *Geschichte der Musikpädagogik in der Schweiz* (Zurich: Schweizerischer Musikpädagogischer Verband, 1944), 243–342. A useful, though somewhat dry, summary of Nägeli's views in general can be found in Ismail Izzet Hassan, *Die Welt- und Kunstanschauung Hans Georg Nägelis mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Musik* (Zurich: Juris-Verlag, 1947).

<sup>82</sup> For a useful summary of the basic principles of Pestalozzi's method, see the chapter "How Gertrude teaches her children" in Kate Silber, *Pestalozzi: The Man and His Work*, 4<sup>th</sup> revised edition (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), 133–150. The title of this chapter refers to the book *Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt* (Bern and Zurich: Heinrich Gessner, 1801), on which Pestalozzi's fame among his contemporaries primarily rested.



*Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen* (1810), is in essence a monumental experiment to realize this gapless progression in singing education, no matter how unnatural the conclusions may at times seem to the modern observer.<sup>83</sup> Most embarrassingly, Nägeli sought to first define and practice each basic element of music (rhythm, pitch, dynamics) separately, and combine them in “real” music pieces only afterwards – a solution that, in Bernarr Rainbow’s words, resulted in “exercises of [a] distinctly unappetising nature.”<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, the elimination of leaps implied that two-part writing also grows out naturally, as it were, from the preceding unison exercises, which inevitably makes choral singing seem like a culmination of the whole process. In later years Nägeli did publish didactic works explicitly dedicated

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<sup>83</sup> Hans Georg Nägeli and Michael Traugott Pfeiffer, *Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen* (Zurich: Nägeli, 1810). (The book was apparently in essence written by Nägeli; his coauthor Pfeiffer was an avid Pestalozzian, and therefore responsible for the pedagogical foundations in the first place.) Before printing the rather bulky volume, Nägeli also published a lengthy essay that summarized his theses, explaining among other things that “[f]or us it does not suffice to start at the beginning in Pestalozzi’s spirit; we strive, in Pestalozzi’s spirit, to proceed without gaps.” See his “Die Pestalozzische Gesangbildungslehre nach Pfeiffers Erfindung kunstwissenschaftlich dargestellt im Namen Pestalozzis, Pfeiffers und ihre Freunde,” *AmZ* 11 (1809), 769–776, 785–793, 801–810, 817–845 (quote 805): “Uns genügt nicht, nach dem Sinne Pestalozzi’s beym Anfange anzufangen; wir trachten, nach dem Geiste Pestalozzi’s lückenlos fortzuschreiten.”

<sup>84</sup> Bernarr Rainbow, *Music in Educational Thought and Practice: A Survey from 800 BC* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 139. Lindner was one contemporary critic to raise serious doubts whether such “natural” separation of the main elements of music might confuse the students, rather than helping them. See his review of Nägeli’s and Pfeiffer’s *Gesangbildungslehre* in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 465–475, 481–486 (quote 471).

to choral music, but the *Gesangbildungslehre* – meant for the instruction of absolute beginners – does not yet require students to sing in more than two parts. In this respect, songs like the *Erster Lobgesang* from the supplement of the treatise (see Example 3.3) may at first prove misleading: the piece is, of course, for three vocal parts, but the bass is evidently performed by the teacher, rather than the schoolboys (who thus sing in two parts only, even if the presence of a third voice brings further difficulty for them). At the same time, the lack of a figured instrumental bass – let alone keyboard accompaniment – is equally noteworthy: as Schipke suggests, such liberation of choral singing from instruments arguably opens a new era in the history of music instruction in German schools.<sup>85</sup> If so, Nägeli evidently entered this new era with huge ambitions: to perform this song in tune *a cappella* seems quite a challenge in itself, but two characteristically Nägelian features – the diversity of rhythmic patterns and the carefully prescribed dynamics – complicate the students’ task even further.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Schipke, *Der deutsche Schulgesang*, 104. Some have argued that it was rather Carl Gottlieb Hering who wrote and published the first unaccompanied, two-part lieder; see Rainer Lorenz, *Musikpädagogik in den ersten 30 Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel Carl Gottlieb Herings* (Mainz: Schott, 1988), 34.

<sup>86</sup> These characteristics may easily reflect Nägeli’s preferences as a theorist. As I have hinted, he viewed rhythm as the most essential element of music that students should start their exercises with. Besides, he appears to have been the first to transfer the scientific term “dynamics” to the field of music; see his “Die Pestalozzische Gesangbildungslehre,” 774–776.

**Moderato**

Soprano  
Alto  
Bass

Al - les, was O - - - dem hat, lo - - - be den

Al - les, was O - - - den hat, lo - - - be den

Al - - - les, was O - dem hat, lo - - - be den

4

S  
A  
B

Herrn! *p* An - dacht und hei - li - ge Won - ne durch -

Herrn! *p* An - dacht und hei - li - ge Won - - ne - durch --

Herrn! *p* An - dacht und hei - li - ge Won - ne durch -

9

S  
A  
B

drin - ge un - ser al - ler See - - - - len ganz! *f*

drin - ge un - ser al - ler *f* See - len ganz!

drin - ge un - ser al - ler *f* See - len ganz!

**Example 3.3** Hans Georg Nägeli, “Erster Lobgesang,” in *Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen* (1810).

The countless singing treatises that appeared in the following decade discussed choral singing with ever increasing interest.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, by the mid-1810s many authors made their ambitious goals explicit in their titles. Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Koch's 1814 treatise was meant as "An aid for elementary school teachers [...] to form pure folk-singing in several parts,"<sup>88</sup> while the year 1816 saw the publication of both Johann Friedrich Dorn's "Contributions in support of singing in several parts in schools"<sup>89</sup> and A. Irgang's "Singing treatise for higher schools and *Singe-Chöre*" (a coupling the mere idea of which testifies for the much-improved musical education in those higher schools).<sup>90</sup> However, it may prove instructive to examine a "nursery song" from a pedagogically minded lied collection, rather than a textbook proper.

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<sup>87</sup> The rapid growth of the relevant literature becomes most conspicuous if one compares different editions of Carl Friedrich Whistling's *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur*. In the first volume (Leipzig: Anton Meysel, 1817) the list of "Anweisungen zum Singen" is less than two pages long – a decade later the revised and enlarged edition (Leipzig: Whistling, 1828) already features more than six pages of "Anweisungen zum Singen und Singübungen." (Admittedly, the latter category is somewhat broader, but the need to also specify "singing exercises" – which in the first edition were included in the same category without explicit mention – reflects even more the unprecedented expansion of the didactic repertory.

<sup>88</sup> Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Koch, *Gesanglehre: Ein Hülfsmittel für Elementarschullehrer, durch eine einfachere Bezeichnungsart und Lehrmethode und durch eine zweckmässige Sammlung von Singstücken einen reinen mehrstimmigen Volksgesang zu bilden*, vol. I (Magdeburg: Wilhelm Heinrichshofen, 1814).

<sup>89</sup> Johann Friedrich Dorn, *Beyträge zur Beförderung des mehrstimmigen Gesanges in Schulen, in dreystimmigen Melodien für Kinder* (Königsberg: Unzer, 1816).

<sup>90</sup> A. Irgang, *Gesanglehre für höhere Schulen und Singe-Chöre* (Glogau: Günter, 1819).

August Harder's *Zwölf Kinderlieder* appeared in 1811; of the twelve pieces no fewer than six can be performed (at least alternatively) by more parts than one.<sup>91</sup> The most fascinating of these is *Winterlied* (see example 3.4), which is set as a *Wechselgesang*; that is, the successive strophes are sung to two different melodies in alternation. The first melody is meant for the *Mädchen* (two girl sopranos), the second for the *Knaben* (two boys: a soprano and an alto). Even if both duets evoke "folksy" part-writing, their musical characters are quite different: the utterly decent girls plaintively describe the losses caused by the arrival of winter in 3/8 meter, moderate tempo, and D major; the rather naughty boys enthusiastically welcome the new opportunities to sledge or skate in 2/4 meter, "somewhat faster" tempo, and A major. For the last three strophes – and this is by no means a standard solution in most *Wechselgesänge* – all four children unite in a four-part chorus in praise of the coming Christmas, and especially the hoped-for presents. The fact that this choir simply recycles the "moderate" D-major melody is intriguing: the girls thus retain their original, decent behavior, now made even more agreeable by the presence of full harmony – the boys, on the other hand, appear indeed to have "moderated" their naughtiness, and now be ready to join in with the girls' well-bred music. In this light, one may feel tempted to read this tiny *Winterlied* as an unconscious essay on parental authority, which uses presents both to reward the passive for their decency, and to persuade the active to control their excesses. Tellingly, the review of Harder's lied collection in the journal *Der*

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<sup>91</sup> August Harder, *Zwölf Kinderlieder am Klavier zu singen*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Kunst und Industrie Comptoir, [1811]). Four pieces bear the marking *Auch zweistimmig zu singen*, one is labeled *Auch vierstimmig zu singen*; the single piece written for obligatory four parts is the example I am studying more in depth below.

**Example 3.4** August Harder, “Winterlied,” in *Zwölf Kinderlieder* (1811).

# Winterlied.

(Ein Wechselgesang.)

Mäßig.

Erster Sopran.

Zweiter Sopran.

Der Winter ist ge - kom - men in sei - nem wei - ßen Kleid, hat  
Mädchen der Bach, in Ei - ses Hül - le, lißt nicht ein Fisch - chen sehn, die

uns die Blü - men ge - nom - men, den Gar - ten zu - ge - schnit - t.  
Flur ist todt und stil - le, und schar - fe Win - de wehn.

Etwas geschwinder.

Sopran.

Alt.

va. Nun ho - len wir die Schlitten; wollt ihr ge - fah - ren seyn, so müßt ihr uns hübsch  
Knaben in frischer Luft zu wandern, die en - ge Stu - be flihn, und auf dem Eis zu

blü - ten, dann setzt ihr euch hin - ein.  
glän - dern, das ist für un - sern Sinn.



Example 3.4 (Continued)

BEIDE. In der ersten Bewegung.

Zwei Soprane . . . Mädchen.

Dritter Sopran . . . v.s. Nun wird auch bald er - schei - nen die fro - he Weihnachts - zeit, dann.

Alt. Knaben.

schimmern für die Klei - nen die Lich - ter weit und breit.

Und Reiter, Puppen, Spiele,  
Und Löw' und Hund und Pferd,  
Im lustigen Gewühle,  
Sind für uns da bescheert!

Drum, Winter, sey willkommen  
Mit deinem Schneegussicht,  
Hast zwar die Blumen genommen,  
Doch fehlts an Freuden nicht!

Besselt.



*Freimüthige* hinted that “solicitous parents can give their children no better present than these songs.”<sup>92</sup>

All this analysis may seem like a digression, but it actually brings me to my final point: the use of choral singing as a special kind of social education. As we have seen, some believed that only unison singing could properly express the unity of a community, whereas to sing in four-part chorus would have contradicted the basic principle that “art must not disturb the *Volk*, but move and support it.”<sup>93</sup> Nevertheless, the admirable achievements of school music education soon started to make such views seem outdated: by around 1810 even well-bred children were expected to master songs like the above *Winterlied*, and more and more intellectuals began to ponder the particular didactic value of singing in four-part harmony.

### **The Chorus as *Volk***

If the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw vast reforms in vocal pedagogy, the discussion about the benefits of learning music – whether vocal or instrumental – proved equally heated. The title of Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths’s 1805 article “Do all Germans want to become musicians?” became a catchphrase of the time, and prompted many musicians to explain in detail how music education could be

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<sup>92</sup> W., review of August Harder’s *Kinderlieder* in *Der Freimüthige* 1811, no. 159 (10 August), 634:

“Sorgsame Eltern können [...] ihren Kindern kein besseres Geschenk machen, als mit diesen Liedern.”

Axel Beer has suggested that the signature W. likely stands for Friedrich Wilke; see Beer’s

“*Empfehlenswerthe Musikalien*”: *Besprechungen musikalischer Neuerscheinungen ausserhalb der Fachpresse (Deutschland, 1. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts): Eine Bibliographie*, vol. II (Göttingen: Hainholz, 2001), 2.

<sup>93</sup> Quoted earlier at note 76.

useful not merely for would-be professionals, but equally so for any well-bred child.<sup>94</sup> Friedrich Guthmann, for one, argued primarily on aesthetic grounds by stressing that only through early didactic experiences do we gain a “sense for all beauty of music,” and acquire “the ability to feel its charms.”<sup>95</sup> Christian Friedrich Michaelis, on the other hand, realized that the authority of art will hardly suffice for the skeptics, and instead drew attention to the advantages music education may bring about in more practical spheres of life as well:

The sense for regularity, correctness, order, and harmony cannot remain untrained, if one diligently listens to, and carefully performs, good compositions. The upbringing should only see to it that this sense seek satisfaction also *outside* the field of music, and that immersion in art, or pride and affectation not ignore all the rules of other spheres of life.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths, “Wollen alle Deutsche Musikanten werden?,” *Bibliothek der pädagogischen Literatur* 5 (1804), Heft 11, 295–299. GutsMuths’s arguments were soon seconded by Engelmann, “Über den Aufsatz des H[er]rn Hofrath GutsMuths: Wollen alle Deutsche Musikanten werden?,” *Bibliothek der pädagogischen Literatur* 6 (1805), Heft 5, 101–104.

<sup>95</sup> Friedrich Guthmann, “Noch ein Wort über Erziehung für Musik,” *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 834–836 (quote 834): “Sinn für alles Schöne der Musik [...] Fähigkeit die Reize derselben zu fühlen.”

<sup>96</sup> Christian Friedrich Michaelis, “Einige Gedanken über die Vortheile der frühen musikalischen Bildung,” *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 117–126 (quote 122–123): “Der Sinn für Regelmässigkeit, Richtigkeit, Ordnung und Harmonie kann bey dem fleissigen Anhören und bey der sorgfältigen Aufführung guter Kompositionen nicht ohne Bildung bleiben. Nur Sorge die Erziehung, dass dieser Sinn auch *ausser* dem Gebiete der Musik Befriedigung suche, und nicht Vertiefung in die Kunst oder Stolz und Affektation alle Regeln des übrigen Lebens aus den Augen zu setzen.” Michaelis’s article appeared more or less

Lindner, too, found that music was uniquely appropriate for conveying moral values, and proposed that “one teach the ear to hear [*hören*], then to listen [*hören*], and in the end obeying [*Gehorchen*], the obedience [*Gehorsam*] that is due to God and the conscience will not be difficult, either.”<sup>97</sup> Nägeli seemed less interested in etymological derivations of this kind, but rather strove for a certain synthesis by distinguishing between “lower” (*niedre*) and “higher gymnastics” (*höhere Gymnastik*): the first brings about “perfecting of the organs” (for example, the finger muscles of the pianist), while the second seeks “to operate and perfect the organization in its entirety.”<sup>98</sup> Of course, it is not the manual virtuosity practiced through “lower gymnastics,” but a sort of “inner virtuosity” (*innerliche Virtuosität*) resulting from the

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simultaneously with Gutsmuths’s essay, and was thus not meant as a direct response to the latter’s provocative question. A mere few weeks later, however, when Michaelis came to read Gutsmuths’s text, he did publish an explicit rebuttal: “Ueber einen Aufsatz mit der Ueberschrift: Wollen alle Deutsche Musikanten werden?,” *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 229–237. The debate between Gutsmuths and Michaelis has been discussed in detail by David Gramit, who suggests that the latter’s arguments were of great significance for the cause of “serious music” throughout the coming decades: “insistence upon the serious value of music as a means of popular cultivation could offer a solution with potential not only to enhance music’s prestige but also to provide a substantial and respectable place for musicians as those uniquely qualified to provide that cultivation.” See Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 12–17 (quote 16).

<sup>97</sup> Lindner, “Was ist bis jetzt für die Gesangs-Bildung geschehen?,” 4: “man lehre das Ohr hören, dann hören, und zuletzt wird das Gehorchen, der Gehorsam, welcher Gott und dem Gewissen gebührt, nicht schwer werden.”

<sup>98</sup> Nägeli, “Die Pestalozzische Gesangbildungslehre,” 771: “Vervollkommnung der Organe [...] die Organisation im Ganzen zu bethätigen und zu vervollkommen.”

*höhere Gymnastik* that educators must focus on: “virtuosity in music must lead to virtuosity in life.”<sup>99</sup>

Although most authors tended to speak of learning music in general, there is little doubt that their prime concern was to defend instruction in instrumental music, which did not possess the kind of obvious pedagogical benefits that the singing of edifying *Volkslieder* or chorales did. Even worse, many felt that the unquestionable power of “absolute” music was potentially dangerous for young people. This view was adumbrated most strikingly by Amadeus Wendt in an 1808 article “On the influence of music on character”:

*pure* music, i. e. [music] meant without connection to poetry, since it magically speaks to and excites every sentiment, keeps the human being in a continuous flooding and wavering of emotion, in inner emotional pleasure and passion, which leads him away from action, and robs him of the strength of will.<sup>100</sup>

Nevertheless, such accusations were by no means directed only against instrumental music. After all, the music of vocal pieces could potentially have been equally

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<sup>99</sup> Nägeli, “Die Pestalozzische Gesangbildungslehre,” 827–828: “Virtuosität der Tonkunst muss zur Virtuosität des Lebens führen.”

<sup>100</sup> Amadeus Wendt, “Von dem Einflusse der Musik auf den Charakter,” *AmZ* 11 (1808–1809), 81–89, 97–103 (quote 99): “die *reine* Musik, d. h. ohne Verbindung mit Poesie gedacht, weil sie jede Empfindung magisch anspricht und aufregt, den Menschen in einem steten Fluthen und Schwanken des Gefühls erhalte, in einer inneren Gefühlslust und Schwärmerey, die dem Handeln entwöhne, und ihn der Festigkeit des Willens beraube.” Wendt was not propagating such views, but rather succinctly formulating here his opponents’ theses.

dangerous; it was only the presence of a decent text that made these look “pedagogically safe” by channeling the emotions of both performer and listener toward desirable topics. The lack of an appropriate text, however, could render vocal works wholly inappropriate for the student, and this problem seemed particularly pressing in connection with compositions for a solo singer. As Karl August Dreist argued in an 1811 essay in defense of Nägeli’s *Gesangbildungslehre*,

[t]hrough the dominance of individual singing, music has partly become through no fault of its own a vehicle of weakness, of bad sentimentality. Usually a soft, melting and dissolving character predominates in those songs and arias that now receive the greatest acclaim. Individual songs are by nature mostly outpourings of the excited passion that can only be truly and beautifully reproduced through transferring the mind in a similar state. Thus, individual singing often generated in the youth to be educated a dangerous precociousness; debilitation through too frequent pathological arousal, which could prove all the more pernicious under the general direction of our zeitgeist. Against this acts precisely the kind of indifferentiation, vitalization, exaltation of the multipart, moral, holy choral singing that the [Nägelian] *Gesangbildungslehre* aims at.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Karl August Dreist, “Zweytes Wort über die *Gesangbildungslehre* nach Pestalozzis’s Grundsätzen von M. J. Pfeiffer und H. G. Nägeli,” *AmZ* 13 (1811), 833–842, 858–870, 876–878 (quote 841): “Durch das Vorherrschen des individuellen Gesanges ist die Musik, ohne eigne Schuld, zum Theil ein Beförderungsmittel der Schwäche, der schlechten Sentimentalität geworden. Gewöhnlich herrscht ein weichliches, zerfließendes und auflösendes Wesen vor, in denjenigen Gesängen und Arien, welche jetzt den meisten Beyfall erhalten. Individuelle Gesänge sind ihrem Wesen nach meist Ergüsse der

Dreist's objections against popular songs and arias closely resemble Wendt's disparaging words on instrumental music; the only escape from the overflow of uncontrolled emotions seems "moral, holy choral singing." That the texts of *geistliche* choruses should be an excellent antidote to the "excited passion" criticized above seems obvious, but it is the notion that collective singing as such could control the excesses of the individuals participating in it that seems particularly relevant for our discussion. In the numerous treatises I have surveyed here, the idea that singing should preferably be taught in groups, rather than individually, seems ubiquitous. "The more able supports and helps the less able, and himself becomes firmer without suffering a loss," noted Walder, adding that "the less able, who learns little or nothing through private lessons alone, is caught up in the flow of tones, so that he can at least sing along."<sup>102</sup> Lindner also stressed that the student may learn to sing from collective instruction almost without noticing it: "The child is not forced; through the help of the collective singing [*das Zusammensingen*], which always surrounds it, it acquires step

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aufgeregtten Leidenschaft, welche durch Versetzung des Gemüthes in den ähnlichen Zustand nur wahr und schön reproducirt werden können. So erzeugte der individuelle Gesang oft in der zu bildenden Jugend eine gefährliche Frühreife, eine Schwächung durch zu häufige pathologische Erregung, welche bey der allgemeinen Richtung des Zeitgeistes nur um so verderblicher wirken konnte. Diesem entgegen wirkt gerade jene Indifferenzierung, Belebung, Erhebung des mehrstimmigen, moralischen, heiligen Chorgesanges, welchen die [Nägelsche] Gesangbildungslehre erzielt."

<sup>102</sup> Walder, *Anleitung zur Singkunst*, v: "Der Fähigere unterstützt und hilft dem unfähigern und wird, ohne dass er verkürzt wird, selbst fester: der Unfähigere, der durch Privatunterricht allein wenig oder nichts lernt, wird von dem Strohm der Töne hingerissen, dass er wenigstens mit singen kann."

by step this ability the most natural way.”<sup>103</sup> But it was again Nägeli who formulated the common opinion in a poetically abstract way by declaring that “[i]n choral singing the power of sympathy, the physical compassion itself, supports the edification of the individual indescribably.”<sup>104</sup>

While the authors of most similar comments may primarily have had practical considerations in mind, and reflected on the direct pedagogical benefits of making students sing together, the more general implication that any choir could bring the best out its individual members was certainly not foreign to them. An essay “About the vitalization and advancement of folk singing,” which appeared in the *AmZ* in 1814, opens with a short explication of how lonely people may use music as a substitute for social contact.

But its power reaches even deeper into the human soul, if several [people] join each other in its service: in fact, here it will become a new means of bonding itself, which chains one human being to another, and elevates them reciprocally to more noble sentiments.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Lindner, “Ueber den Gesang,” 157: “Das Kind wird nicht gezwungen; es kommt nach und nach durch Hülfe des Zusammensingens, von dem es immer umgeben ist, auf dem natürlichsten Wege zu dieser Fähigkeit.”

<sup>104</sup> Nägeli, *Gesangbildungslehre*, 5: “*Im Chorgesange befördert die Macht der Sympathie, selbst das physische Mitgefühl, die Bildung des Individuums unbeschreiblich.*” (Italics original.)

<sup>105</sup> Carl Hohnbaum, “Ueber die Belegung und Beförderung des Volksgesangs, nebst einer Aufforderung an Freunde desselben,” *AmZ* 16 (1814), 813–820 (quote 813): “Aber tiefer noch greift ihre Macht in die menschliche Seele, wenn sich mehrere zu ihrem Dienste verbinden: ja sie selbst wird

If so, the choir is qualitatively more than a mere sum of its members: each individual adds his or her better part to the whole, and it is precisely this better part that all human beings may have in common, notwithstanding all their differences. Nowhere is this concept more evident than in contemporary descriptions of the role the choir was supposed to play in church music. Rochlitz's 1803 analysis of church cantatas, for example, suggested that such a composition will formally consist of recitatives, arias, and choruses, each of which has its specific expressive function:

The recitative recalls the occurrence whose memory is to be ceremoniously revived through the feast; the aria expresses sentiments that this occurrence is supposed to awaken; the chorus gathers these sentiments, grasps them in a pithy phrase, makes them thereby more forceful and lasting, and utters them as if they were uttered by the congregation itself – for this, as it should be, is represented through the chorus.<sup>106</sup>

Two years later Michaelis also dedicated a whole article to “Some remarks about the church cantata and the oratorio,” wherein he elaborated on the above by suggesting

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hier ein neues Bindungsmittel, welches den Menschen an den Menschen kettet und sie gegenseitig zu edleren Gefühlen erhebt.”

<sup>106</sup> Rochlitz, „Feyer des Andenkens,” 124: “Das Recitativ erinnert an die Begebenheit, deren Andenken durch das Fest feyerlich erneuert werden soll; die Arie drückt Gefühle aus, die durch diese Begebenheit erweckt werden sollen; der Chor sammlet diese Gefühle, fasset sie in einen körnigen Spruch, macht sie dadurch kräftiger und dauerhafter, und sagt sie so aus, als wenn sie von der Gemeine selbst ausgesprochen würden – denn diese, wie sie seyn sollte, wird durch den Chor repräsentirt.”



that the dramatic function of the chorus could have been nothing less than to give voice to an ideal human community.

The *universal-human* is pronounced eminently through the chorus; it is left primarily to them to pour their heart out about views of great general importance, the general truths of religion, general resolutions and attitudes, about ideas and needs that affect mankind in general, or at least the whole church congregation.<sup>107</sup>

These ideas were of course no novelty at the time: the chorales sung in unison by the congregation had long represented such exalted utterances of the believers' community at large. However, if singing in unison could self-explanatorily evoke the feeling of perfect community, the symbolic value of four-part performances of the same chorales proved slightly more problematic. Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, for

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<sup>107</sup> Christian Friedrich Michaelis, "Einige Bemerkungen über die Kirchenkantate und das Oratorium," *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 461–468, 493–500 (quote 462): "Das *Allgemein-Menschliche* wird vorzüglich durch das *Chor* ausgesprochen; ihm vornehmlich kommt der Herzenserguss über grosse, allgemeinwichtige Ansichten, allgemeine Religionswahrheiten, allgemeingültige Entschliessungen und Gesinnungen, über Ideen und Bedürfnisse zu, welche die Menschheit überhaupt oder doch die ganze Kirchengemeine angehen." Dreist expressed similar convictions by complaining that, due to the usual lack of precision in choral performances, "the aim of choral singing, the pronouncing and representation of the common sentiments of a multitude, is lost. In this way singing loses its determination and significance proper." See Dreist, "Zweytes Wort über die *Gesangbildungslehre*," 865: "der Zweck des Chorgesanges, Aussprechen und Darstellen der gemeinsamen Gefühle einer Menge, verloren geht. Der Gesang verliert auf diese Weise seine eigentliche Bestimmung und Bedeutung."

one, hinted that in this case the musical requirements of correct part-writing would inevitably undermine the emotional unity of the chorus:

In older times [the chorale] was in unison, and the old melodies are in effect what is called *cantus firmus*. At present the chorale is always set in four parts, and each of the four parts is a main voice. [...] It is possible that a chorale in a mere two parts would make an even better impression, if the harmony of the middle voices would be filled in by the organ, where necessary. For, since the voices must still move contrary to each other in order to avoid harmonic faults, it does not seem natural that, with the same sentiment, the one rises with the voice, when the other descends, and the third stands still on the same pitch.<sup>108</sup>

Admittedly, such concerns do not seem to have been general even in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Some early-19<sup>th</sup>-century theorists, nevertheless, felt pressed to respond, as it were, to Schulz's objection, and elaborated in detail how the four-part choir was able to assume a fairly complex persona of its own. A passage from an 1805 essay written

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<sup>108</sup> Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, *Ueber den Choral, und die ältere Literatur desselben*, new edition (Erfurt: Weingart, 1872), 3: "In den älteren Zeiten war er einstimmig, und die alten Melodien sind eigentlich das, was der Cantus firmus genannt wird. Gegenwärtig wird der Choral allemal vierstimmig gesetzt, und jede der vier Stimmen ist eine Hauptstimme. [...] Es ist möglich, dass ein bloss zweistimmiger Choral, da die Harmonie der Mittelstimmen etwa, wo es nöthig ist, durch die Orgel ausgefüllt würde, noch bessere Wirkung thäte. Denn da die Stimmen doch, um harmonische Fehler zu vermeiden, sich gegeneinander bewegen müssen: so scheint es nicht natürlich, dass bei einerlei Empfindung einer mit der Stimme steigt, da der andere fällt, und der dritte auf derselben Höhe stehen bleibt."

by Michaelis for the *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* seems particularly intriguing; especially since it addresses not a chorus, but music in general:

If one may pursue analogies, seek out relationship or unity of spirit in the diverse forms in which the living expresses itself, one can assume also in music e. g. reflections of life according to the difference of sex, as well as the stages of age. In the four parts, mankind lives in its four ages, and four-part music unites them to a chorus of multiple life. According to this analogy, the soprano should eminently express childlike simplicity and harmlessness, the alto the blooming, warm life of the youth, the tenor the energy, fire and earnestness of the man, while the bass the calm and dignity of old age. Something of the expression of these differences perhaps also resides in the nature of the harmonic system, in the regular sequence of chords as well. Hence the cheerful melody usually moves in the upper parts, but the lower parts act with simplicity and dignity, and seem to give a counterweight to the lush play of youthful forces.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Christian Friedrich Michaelis, “Nachtrag zu den vermischten Bemerkungen über Musik,” *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung* 1 (1805), 141–142 (quote 142): “Darf man Analogieen verfolgen, Verwandtschaft oder Einheit des Geistes in den mannichfaltigen Formen, in denen sich das lebendige ausdrückt, aufsuchen; so kann man auch in der Musik z[um] B[eispiel] Abbildungen des Lebens, nach der Verschiedenheit des Geschlechts sowohl, als der Stufen des Alters, annehmen. In den vier Stimmen lebt die Menschheit in den viererlei Perioden desselben, und die vierstimmige Musik vereinigt sie zum Chor des vielfachen Lebens. Nach dieser Analogie sollte im Sopran kindliche Einfalt und Harmlosigkeit, im Alt des Jünglings blühendes warmes Leben, im Tenor die Energie, das Feuer und der Ernst des Mannes, im Bass aber die Ruhe und Würde des Greisenalters sich vorzüglich ausdrücken.

Michaelis's analogy does not merely provide the chorus with a complex identity, but suggests that this identity is determined by the interaction of precisely four "parts" (in both the musical and the general sense of the word). Indeed, the conviction that the ideal choir must by all means consist of four independent voices seems to have been wide-spread at the time.<sup>110</sup> Nägeli, for example, argued for its inevitability precisely on the basis of the "difference of sex" that Michaelis also touched upon in his first sentence:

*Four-part writing is innate to us in the twofold opposition of female head and chest voices, and male head and chest voices on the one hand, and in the higher opposition of the female [voices] taken together and the male taken together. These originally acoustic oppositions appear and act in the fourfold unequal tone material aesthetically. To blur this natural-artistic fourfoldness through five-part writing is and remains an error of judgment against nature (natural human aptitude for art); therefore the effect of a chorus in more parts than four*

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Vielleicht liegt auch in der Natur des Systems der Harmonie, in der regelmässigen Folge der Akkorde Etwas von dem Ausdruck dieser Verschiedenheit. Daher die fröhliche Melodie gewöhnlich sich in den Oberstimmen bewegt, die Unterstimmen aber mit Einfachheit und Würde auftreten, und dem üppigen Spiele jugendlicher Kräfte ein Gegengewicht zu geben scheinen."

<sup>110</sup> This holds no less true for the aesthetics of instrumental music, which saw the rise of what Ludwig Finscher has called "the theory of the string quartet" precisely in these decades. Cf. Finscher's chapter *Die Theorie des Streichquartetts* in his *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts I: Die Entstehung des klassischen Streichquartetts. Von den Vorformen zur Grundlegung durch Joseph Haydn* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), 277–301.

is, as sound effect, conspicuously more uncertain and weaker than that of a four-part one.<sup>111</sup>

Whether a chorus in precisely four parts is indeed so “natural” or not, Nägeli’s hint at the inborn variance of human voice, or Michaelis’s discussion of the traditional periods of a man’s life are certainly intriguing. Whereas Schulz seems to have assumed that a four-part choir would result from a mere addition of four voices, which were in essence similar to each other, these analyses acknowledge the significant differences between the characters of each part. Furthermore, they imply that this diversity is in fact one of the determining sources of the aesthetic effect of a choir, rather than being a disturbing factor that would undermine the listener’s perception of unity. If so, there is little doubt that the four-part chorus is much more capable of manifesting the “universal-human” that Michaelis referred to: instead of pretending that each and every member of the community was thinking and acting in exactly the

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<sup>111</sup> Hans Georg Nägeli and Michael Traugott Pfeiffer, *Chorgesangschule* (Zurich: Nägeli, 1821), 40: “Die Vierstimmigkeit ist uns in dem zweyfachen Gegensatz der weiblichen Kopf- und Bruststimmen und der männlichen Kopf- und Bruststimmen, und hinwieder in dem höhern Gegensatz der weiblichen zusammengenommen und der männlichen zusammengenommen *angeboren*. Diese ursprünglich akustischen Gegensätze *erscheinen und wirken* in dem vierfach ungleichen Tonmaterial *ästhetisch*. Diese naturgemäss-kunstgemässe *Vierfachheit* durch die Fünfstimmigkeit zu verwischen, ist und bleibt ein Missgriff gegen die Natur (menschliche Naturanlage zur Kunst); die Wirkung eines mehr als vierstimmigen Chores ist daher, als Stimmwirkung, auffallend unbestimmter und schwächer als die eines vierstimmigen.”

same way, it may admit inner differences, and thus represent a complex community – even mankind itself.<sup>112</sup>

This notion may at first seem rather theoretical, with little relevance for the musical practice of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but the emerging cult of grand choruses was certainly inspired by such ideas to stage, as it were, humanity itself in actual performances. The most obvious sign of this development was the vast increase of interest in large-scale oratorio performances: Haydn's *The Creation* was performed all over the German-speaking lands, and – as countless enthusiastic reports of the *AmZ* amply demonstrate – effectively catalyzed the establishment of choral societies everywhere. The Berlin *Singakademie* – founded by Carl Fasch in 1791, and led by Zelter since 1800 – proved an especially influential model, to which every new *Singinstitut* was immediately compared, and inevitably found inferior. Admittedly, many commentators might simply have recited their compliments on hearsay, but Bernhard Christoph Ludwig Natorp, who in 1809 heard the *Singakademie* perform a well-known chorale, was no less impressed:

I had sung [this chorale], had it sung, and played it on the organ several hundred times. But as I heard it here sung by such a chorus of a hundred

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<sup>112</sup> If early 19th-century commentators may primarily have been invested in describing the universality of such a community, choirs have of course long been understood as representing very concrete social groups. For a rich sampling of recent studies from diverse cultural contexts, see Karen Ahlquist (ed.), *Chorus and Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

voices, and with such perfection, it was as if the tones of this song had never before reached my ears and mind.<sup>113</sup>

If the performance standards the *Singkademie* achieved were out of reach for most other choirs, the sheer size of the group seemed equally memorable and arguably easier to emulate. In his 1810 vocal treatise intended for elementary schools, the Rotweil pastor Maier fantasized about “choirs three to four hundred strong, canons for a thousand voices,” and went on to explain that “[t]hrough the multitude singing gains a certain *momentum*, which is much to the advantage of the beat.”<sup>114</sup> By the same token, the 1808 preface to Nägeli’s *Teutonia* extols the exceptional power of mass choruses, and advises conductors to follow a single rule of thumb:

One make the choruses as strong as possible; *the more numerous, the better.*

No special requirements are made on the choristers thereby. Whoever can sing

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<sup>113</sup> See Bernhard Christoph Ludwig Natorp’s article “Die Singakademie zu Berlin” in the 8 July 1818 issue of the *Rheinisch-Westfälischer Anzeiger*. Quoted from Reinhold Weyer, *Bernhard Christoph Ludwig Natorp: Ein Wegbereiter der Musikdidaktik in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1995), 94: “Ich hatte ihn mehrere hundertmale gesungen, singen lassen und auf der Orgel gespielt. Aber als ich ihn hier, von einem solchen hundertstimmigen Chore und auf diese vollendete Art singen hörte, war mir’s, als wären noch nie die Töne dieses Gesangs in mein Ohr und Gemüt gekommen.”

<sup>114</sup> Maier, *Nähere Ausarbeitung des Schulplans der Elementarschulen zu Rotweil. Dritte Abtheilung enthält die Anleitung zum musikalischen Gesang* (Rotweil, in der Schulbuchhandlung, [1810]), ix: “denken wir uns 3 bis 400. Köpfe starke Singchöre; tausendstimmige Kanons!”; xi: “Durch die Menge erhält der Gesang einen gewissen, dem Takte sehr vortheilhaften, *Schwung*.”

his part in tune, correctly, and with clear pronunciation is good for it, and that [much] children can surely also do.<sup>115</sup>

That similar ideas were widespread at the time is confirmed by an 1802 description of an imaginary music society, according to which the ideal *Singinstitut* was one “in which everybody whose voice nature had not completely corrupted, and to whom at least notes and rhythm were not foreign, could participate for free.”<sup>116</sup> At first sight, such modest expectations regarding the musical abilities of chorus members may seem like an understandable concession: if the paramount goal was to establish as big a chorus as possible, there remained little room for choosiness. However, the final clause “for free” reminds one that, besides such pragmatic considerations, social issues were also at stake. As Horstig put it point-blank in a 1806 open letter to the founders of a new singing school, “children should get free admission without regard to

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<sup>115</sup> Hans Georg Nägeli, *Teutonia: Rundgesänge und Liederchöre*, vol. 1 (Zurich: Nägeli, 1808), v: “Man besetze die Chöre so stark als immer möglich; *je zahlreicher, je besser*. Besondere Forderungen werden dabey an die Choristen nicht gemacht. Wer bey deutlicher Aussprache seine Chorstelle rein und richtig absingen kann, ist gut dazu; und das können wohl auch die Kinder.” Even more intriguingly, a decade later Nägeli suggested that not even the conductor of such a choir need necessarily to be a musical expert: it is enough if he can maintain the beat, has a good ear, and plays the keyboard a bit. See Hans Georg Nägeli and Michael Traugott Pfeiffer, *Gesangbildungslehre für den Männerchor* (Zurich: Nägeli, 1817), iv.

<sup>116</sup> “Geschichte einer Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Tonkunst,” *AmZ* 4 (1801–1802), 265–272, 281–288 (quote 270): “ein *Singinstitut* [...] woran jedermann, dessen Stimme die Natur nicht ganz verwahrloset hatte, und dem wenigstens Noten und Takteintheilung nicht fremde waren, unentgeltlich Theil nehmen konnte.”



difference of social standing and sex, without regard to difference of confession.”<sup>117</sup> In this light, Nägeli’s efforts to accept everybody into his choir appear to gain a political edge, their symbolic implication being that the chorus must become an aesthetic forum accessible to each and every member of society:

The age of music begins only where higher art is practiced not just by representatives – where higher art has become the common possession of the *Volk*, the nation, indeed the whole company of European people, where humanity itself is taken up in the element of music. That becomes possible only through the advancement of choral singing. Who tends to view choral singing only as an artistic genre, of which there are several [others], will of course hardly understand us. But choral singing is even in merely artistic respect the focal point of musical effect; the sphere in which musical greatness expresses itself the most perfectly, in which the greatest composers have also laid down their most sublime ideas. Viewed humanistically, it is beyond all comparison more than this.

Take hosts of people; take them by the hundreds, the thousands; try to bring them into human interaction, an interaction in which every individual gives free and active expression to his personality through feelings as well as words, where he at the same time receives uniform impressions from all the others, where he becomes aware of his human independence and solidarity [*Mitständigkeit*] most intuitively and from so many sides, where he receives

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<sup>117</sup> Carl Gottlob Horstig, “An die Stifter einer neuen Gesangschule zu Heidelberg,” *AmZ* 8 (1805–1806), 817–822 (quote 820): “Kinder ohne Unterschied des Standes und Geschlechts, ohne Unterschied der Confession müssten dazu freyen Zutritt finden.”

and circulates enlightenment, where he radiates and inhales love  
instantaneously, with every breath – do you have anything other than choral  
singing? Do you find a single thing among the thousand springs that the Giver  
of all good things opened up to you that could even be remotely similar?<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> My English uses David Gramit's partial translation of this passage from his *Disciplining Music*, 105. For the German original, see Nägeli, "Die Pestalozzische Gesangbildungslehre," 833–834: "Erst da beginnt das Zeitalter der Musik, wo nicht blos Repäsentanten die höhere Kunst ausüben – wo die höhere Kunst zum Gemeingut des Volkes, der Nation, ja der ganzen europäischen Zeitgenossenschaft geworden, wo die Menschheit selbst in das Element der Musik aufgenommen wird. Das wird nur möglich durch die Beförderung des Chorgesanges. Wer den Chorgesang blos als eine Kunstgattung zu betrachten pflegt, deren es mehrere gebe, wird uns freylich kaum verstehen. Der Chorgesang ist aber schon in blosser Kunstrücksicht der Brennpunkt des musikalischen Wirkens, die Sphäre, worin sich die musikalische Grösse am vollkommensten ausspricht, worin auch die grössten Tonkünstler ihre erhabensten Ideen niedergelegt haben. Humanistisch betrachtet, ist er über alle Vergleichung mehr als dies.

"Nehmt Schaaren von Menschen, nehmt sie zu Hunderten, zu Tausenden, versucht es, sie in humane Wechselwirkung zu bringen, eine Wechselwirkung, wo jeder Einzelne seine Persönlichkeit so wol durch Empfindungs- als Wortausdruck freythätig ausübt, wo er zugleich von allen übrigen homogene Eindrücke empfängt, wo er sich seiner menschlichen Selbstständigkeit und Mitständigkeit auf das intuitivste und vielfachste bewusst wird, wo er Aufklärung empfängt und verbreitet, wo er Liebe ausströmt und einhaucht, augenblicklich, mit jedem Athemzug – habt ihr etwas anders als den Chorgesang? findet ihr unter den tausend Quellen, die der Geber alles Guten euch aufschloss, irgend eine, die dieser auch nur von ferne ähnlich wäre?"

These words come from the article “Die Pestalozzische Gesangbildungslehre” of 1809, but Nägeli returned to these thoughts later on. The introduction to the 1817 *Gesangbildungslehre für den Männerchor* also insists that the character of choral singing must always be magnificent, for it is “*always simultaneously* real and symbolic representation of the *Volk* and its life.”<sup>119</sup> But the most elaborate discussion of how the chorus may represent an ideal society by allowing each of its members to “become aware of his human independence and solidarity” appears in the 1821 *Chorgesangschule*. Nägeli first explains that every chorus should start out from singing *lieder*, but the choirmaster must not dwell too long on this repertory, which denies the lower voices both melodic practice and individual entertainment. Instead, the group ought to turn as early as possible to the contrapuntal style, which Nägeli plainly equates with the fugue:

The contrapuntal art, the fugue, has in its form a *soundness* [*Gediegenheit*]; all the choristers as individuals come entirely of age only when exercised and trained therein, so that one might say that they receive – precisely as choristers – their pedagogical consummation through this. The *Chorregent*, however, should not only recognize the *pedagogical* importance of this form, in that each of the four parts is, as one is wont to say, treated independently, in places each has to carry its thematic melody, and thereby partially (alternatingly)

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<sup>119</sup> Hans Georg Nägeli and Michael Traugott Pfeiffer, *Gesangbildungslehre für den Männerchor* (Zurich: Nägeli, 1817), xi: “*immer zugleich* wirkliche und symbolische Darstellung des Volks und des Volkslebens.” On this note, Nägeli yet again declares that a choir of four hundred men is better than one with but forty members, for it may better manifest “the voice of an ennobled *Volk*” (die *Stimme eines veredelten Volks*).

predominates over the others. He should [also] recognize particularly the artistic–social [*kunstgesellige*] importance of the matter. The independence of the parts in contrapuntal singing also strengthens and heightens the artistic self-esteem (the feeling of independence) of the singers (of altos, tenors, basses). *They all feel themselves equally significant, active citizens of the art-state,* where each one like all the others raises his voice in turn, where each has to practice his free right to vote, as it were, according to the laws of art.<sup>120</sup>

Although Nägeli ostensibly describes an ideal chorus in this passage, his choice of words gives his account an unmistakable political tint. For him, the ultimate goal of the choir is to make the singers of those underprivileged lower parts “come entirely of age,” gain in “artistic self-esteem,” and eventually become “equally significant, active citizens of the art-state” by exercising their “free right to vote.” All this sounds like a

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<sup>120</sup> Nägeli and Pfeiffer, *Chorgesangschule*, 39: “Die contrapunktische Kunst, die Fuge, hat in ihrer Form eine *Gediegenheit*, woran geübt und gebildet, die Choristen als Individuen erst sämtlich völlig mündig werden, so dass man sagen darf, sie erhalten dadurch, eben als Choristen, ihre pädagogische Vollendung. Der Chorregent erkenne aber nicht bloss die *pädagogische* Wichtigkeit dieser Form darin, dass jede der vier Stimmen, wie man zu sagen pflegt, selbstständig behandelt ist, jede stellenweise ihre thematische Melodie zu führen hat, und damit theilweise (alternirend) über die andern vorherrscht. Er erkenne vollends die *kunstgesellige* Wichtigkeit der Sache. Die Stimmselfständigkeit im contrapunktischen Gesange stärkt und erhöht auch das künstlerische Selbstgefühl (Selbstständigkeitsgefühl) der Sänger (der Altisten, Tenoristen, Bassisten). *Sie fühlen sich als sämtlich gleich bedeutende Aktivbürger des Kunststaats*, wo an Einen wie an den andern die Reihe kömmt, seine Stimme zu erheben, wo gleichsam jeder sein freyes Stimmrecht kunstgesetzmässig auszuüben hat.”

political utopia, and it seems difficult to imagine that Nägeli would have meant to speak “merely” of a chorus here. In any case, even if one should insist on such a narrowly musical reading of this passage, any member of Nägeli’s ideal chorus is expected to deeply internalize certain democratic rights, and could all the more easily realize how these were denied to him in real life. Thus, the early 19<sup>th</sup>-century promotion of grand choirs does by no means reflect purely artistic preferences, but implies a political statement in favor of the underprivileged classes – as Nägeli argued in 1812, “[t]he core of our *Volk* are our choristers and orchestral members, the representatives of our nobility our solo singers and players.”<sup>121</sup> As I have suggested in my Introduction, this political implication became ever more evident from the 1820s on, when choruses started to mushroom in every German territory, and assumed the function of a “preschool for democracy,” so to speak, in a period when political parties were still banned by the state. Even though most of this development falls outside the chronological scope of this study, I shall deal with the early politicization of the genre at the end of Chapter 5. For now, however, let me return to the final years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and explore how the advocates of partsong singing strove to lay the foundations of a new, secular repertory.

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<sup>121</sup> Nägeli, “Anrede an die schweizerische Musikgesellschaft, bey Eröffnung ihrer Sitzung zu Zürich, den 19ten August 1812,” *AmZ* 14 (1812), 695–703, 711–718, 727–734 (quote 711): “Der Kern unsers Volks sind unsere Choristen und Orchesterleute, die Repräsentanten unsers Adels unsere Solo-Sänger und Spieler.”

## CHAPTER FOUR

### IN SEARCH OF A REPERTORY

#### Proclaiming Sociability

As I have pointed out in Chapter 2, Johann Friedrich Reichardt was among the first composers to revive the tradition of secular partsongs in Germany around 1780, even though his efforts appear to have made no immediate impact on the “mainstream” of lied composers. Nevertheless, if one wished to connect the beginning of the grand vogue of secular partsongs to a single publication, a collection by Reichardt might again prove the most likely candidate. His *Lieder geselliger Freude* appeared in two volumes in 1796 and 1797, respectively, and includes not merely a number of songs for several parts, but also a lengthy preface that explains how an anthology of such pieces is needed in order to fill a gap left behind by earlier publications:

We songless Germans start to become rich in merry lieder, but our companies [*Gesellschaften*], even the merriest of them, mostly remain without song and sound everywhere. Perhaps this is also responsible for the fact that those lieder are scattered in countless big and small song collections of all kinds. Some collections that include forty or fifty lieder, arias, and duets, offer hardly two or three lieder whose content and melody would be appropriate for a mixed, merry company, which merely wants to be merry; some [do] not even [offer] a single one. The most scrupulous investigation of more than sixty different lied collections has proven this only too well. And so the editor and publisher of this collection, into which only such lieder were admitted that should be struck

up by every good, merry company jointly, perhaps deserve some thanks from their compatriots.<sup>1</sup>

Needless to say, even those “hardly two or three lieder” in earlier collections that Reichardt found “appropriate for a mixed, merry company” were rarely partsongs in the strict sense, but rather simple *Rundgesänge* with a choral refrain (often in three parts). In this light it seems little wonder that Reichardt’s prime concern seems to be to convince his readers that, difficult though singing in several parts may at first prove for many, the aesthetic satisfaction of a partsong will render the performers’ efforts worthwhile.

Even though the melody, and especially its movement, is the soul of the lied, still the lied that strikes up in the soul of all mankind, of all living nature, will only fully realize its potential for the educated ear and artistic sense, if

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<sup>1</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt (ed.), *Lieder geselliger Freude*, [vol. I] (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1796), iii–iv: “Wir sanglosen Deutschen fangen an reich zu werden an fröhlichen Liedern, aber unsre Gesellschaften, selbst die fröhlichsten, bleiben noch meist überall ohne Sang und Klang. Vielleicht ist auch dies Schuld daran, dass jene Lieder in unzähligen grossen und kleinen Sammlungen von Gesängen aller Art zerstreut sind. Manche Sammlung, die vierzig, fünfzig Lieder, Arien und Duetten enthält, bietet kaum zwei, drei Lieder dar, deren Inhalt und Melodie einer gemischten fröhlichen Gesellschaft, die nur eben fröhlich seyn will, angemessen wäre; manche nicht Ein Lied. Die genaueste Durchforschung von mehr als sechzig verschiedenen Liedersammlungen hat dieses nur zu sehr bewiesen. Und so verdienen sich Herausgeber und Verleger dieser Sammlung, in der nur solche Lieder aufgenommen worden, welche von jeder guten fröhlichen Gesellschaft gerne gemeinschaftlich angestimmt werden möchten, vielleicht einigen Dank von ihren Landsleuten.”

harmony is added to it, and several voices in pure accords elevate the melody to its highest dignity and beauty. Some of these lieder are therefore composed for choir, and it would be desirable that the ease with which several members of the company can carry this lied-book would also bring the benefit that all musical members of the company endeavored to sing such songs, as they are printed, in three and four parts. In Switzerland there are whole congregations that sing the psalm melodies, which are set less comprehensibly, in several parts; so why should this be unworkable in Germany, where music, despite all deficiencies, is cultivated much more, and more thoroughly, than in Switzerland? If one thereby observes the carefully given grades of loud and soft, and also in choral singing correctly hits upon and strictly maintains the proper tempo of the lied, then one will perceive in some very simple lieder an effect that few would expect from such a small piece of music. And this can easily become a new appeal in support of convivial [*gesellschaftliches*] singing, which would certainly be the most pleasant reward for the editor.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Reichardt, *Lieder gesellschaftlicher Freude*, [vol. I], ix–xi: “Wenn gleich die Melodie, und besonders ihre Bewegung die Seele des Liedes ist, so wird das Lied, welches in die Seele des ganzen Menschengeschlechts, der ganzen belebten Natur hoch anstimmt, doch für das gebildete Ohr und Kunstgefühl nur dann erst das, was es seyn kann, ganz, wenn die Harmonie dazu kommt, und mehrere Stimmen in reinen Akkorden die Melodie zu ihrer höchsten Würde und Schönheit erheben. Mehrere dieser Lieder sind daher chormässig gesetzt, und es wäre zu wünschen, dass die Bequemlichkeit, mit der mehrere Mitglieder der Gesellschaft dieses Liederbuch bei sich führen können, auch den Gewinn brächte, dass sich alle musikalische Glieder der Gesellschaft bemühten, solche Lieder, wie sie da stehn, drei- und vierstimmig zu singen. Es giebt ja in der Schweiz ganze Gemeinen, die bei kirchlichen Versammlungen, die weniger fasslich gesetzten Psalmmelodien mehrstimmig absingen; warum sollte



Reichardt's argument walks a fine line here. On the one hand, he is at pains to demonstrate how the partsong is but a new manifestation of the earlier, melody-centered lied aesthetics. On the other hand, he must admit that this form of convivial singing is still new enough to pose serious problems for his dilettante audience, and appeals to their national pride to inspire them make the necessary effort, instead of simply "reducing" these pieces to solo lieder with keyboard accompaniment. Apparently, Reichardt himself was aware that his expectations were somewhat overambitious, for true partsongs in fact form but a minority among the *Lieder geselliger Freude*. The bulk of the collection follows the traditional *Rundgesang* form, which proves less demanding for the singers, and thus encourages many more people to sing along – a point that seems just as important to Reichardt as to the many contemporaries I cited in my previous chapter.<sup>3</sup> However, Reichardt draws from this

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denn dieses in Deutschland, wo Musik denn doch bei aller Mangelhaftigkeit weit mehr und gründlicher getrieben wird als in der Schweiz, unausführbar seyn? Wenn man dabei noch die sorgfältig angegebenen Grade der Stärke und Schwäche beobachtet, und auch beim Chorgesange die eigentliche Bewegung des Liedes richtig trifft und rein erhält; so wird man bei manchem sehr einfachen Liede eine Wirkung wahrnehmen, die Wenige von einem so kleinen Musikstück erwarten möchten. Und diese kann denn wohl auch ein neuer Reiz zur Förderung des gesellschaftlichen Gesanges werden, für den Herausgeber gewiss die angenehmste Belohnung seyn würde."

<sup>3</sup> In the preface to the second volume of the same collection Reichardt explains how the participation of instruments should be particularly welcome, since their harmonic and melodic support may encourage less musical people to venture to join in with the singing. See his *Lieder geselliger Freude*, vol. II (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer der Jüngere, 1797), vi–vii. Parallel to this second volume, Reichardt indeed

aesthetic idea a more radical conclusion, and goes so far as to rewrite others' compositions: as the preface explains, "[t]he editor sometimes sought to give even well-known solo melodies a more social [*geselliger*] shape through the addition of more parts, or through mixing solo and choral parts."<sup>4</sup> To be sure, to make a lied "more social" by way of making it more difficult to perform may at first seem like an odd idea – when Johann Adolph Scheibe republished earlier Masonic songs in his 1776 *Vollständiges Liederbuch der Freymäurer*, and strove to adapt them to collective singing, his prime concern was rather to narrow down their melodic range.<sup>5</sup> By the end of the century, however, the educated strata apparently became eager, as well as able, to perform *Geselligkeit* in a more refined form, for which purpose duets, alternating choirs, or fully-fledged partsongs seemed much more appropriate than simple unison singing.

An especially interesting example of Reichardt's giving others' melodies "a more social shape" is his arrangement of Johann Adam Hiller's *Ohne Lieb' und ohne Wein*. This lied originated in the Singspiel *Der Teufel ist los* (1766), and soon became extremely popular throughout Germany: by 1780 Jean Benjamin Laborde already believed it to be a "Strassburger Volkslied," and from around this time the melody

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published such instrumental accompaniments under the title *Instrumentalmusik zu den Liedern geselliger Freude* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer der Jüngere, 1797).

<sup>4</sup> Reichardt, *Lieder geselliger Freude*, [vol. I], ix: "Zuweilen hat der Herausgeber auch bekannten einstimmigen Melodien durch Hinzufügung mehrerer Stimmen, oder durch Mischung von Solo- und Chorstimmen eine geselligere Gestalt zu geben gesucht."

<sup>5</sup> [Johann Adolph Scheibe (ed.)], *Vollständiges Liederbuch der Freymäurer mit Melodien* (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1776), x–xi.

itself was often evoked as a vehicle for different texts as well.<sup>6</sup> The original song, first published in the 1770 vocal score of *Der Teufel ist los*, ist meant for solo voice with instrumental accompaniment (see Example 4.1). As regards the melody, Reichardt takes it over quite faithfully, apart from the slight deviations in the figuration of each cadential predominant (cf. mm. 3, 7, 11 of Example 4.1 with the respective bars in Example 4.2). Whether these modifications come from Reichardt himself seems impossible to tell: although Laborde's 1780 "Strassburger Volkslied" includes Hiller's original F sharp in m. 3, it is easy to imagine that the melody Reichardt transmits

Andante moderato.

Feme.

Oh, ne Lieb und oh, ne Wein, was wär un-ser Leben? All-seß was uns kann er = freun, müssen die = se  
 Sieger, die des Siegs sich freun, fragen nicht nach Kränzen, Sie er = ho = sen sich bey'm Wein, und bey schlaun

ge = ben. Wenn die Großen sich er = freun, was ist ih = re Freu = de! Hübsche Mädchen, gu = ter Wein, einß die = se  
 Tänz. Uns drückt oft des Le = bens Pein, doch nur wenn wir dör = sten: A = ber gebt uns Lieb und Wein, o so sind wir

heyde.  
 Fürsten.

**Example 4.1** Johann Adam Hiller, "Ohne Lieb' und ohne Wein,"  
 in *Der Teufel ist los* (1770).

<sup>6</sup> For Laborde's variant, see Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Cotta, 1902), vol. II, 112.

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31.  
Liebe und Wein.

Ohne Lieb' und ohne Wein,  
Was wär' unser Leben!  
Alles was uns kann erfreuen,  
Müssen diese geben.  
Wenn die Großen sich erfreuen,  
Was ist ihre Freude?  
Schöne Weiber, guter Wein;  
Einzig diese beide.

Sieger, die des Siegs sich freun,  
Fragen nichts nach Kränzen,  
Sie erholen sich beim Wein  
Und bei schlaun Tänzern.  
Uns drückt oft des Lebens Pein,  
Doch nur wann wir dürsten;  
Aber gibt uns Lieb' und Wein,  
O so sind wir Fürsten!

31.

Froh.      Zweistimmig.

Ohne Lieb' und oh-ne Wein was wär  
Alles was uns kanner-freun müß-sen

un-ser Le-ben! Wenn die Großen sich er-  
die-se ge-ben!

Chor.

freun was ist ih-re Freude! Schöne Weiber  
Schöne Weiber

guter Wein einzig die-se Bei-de.

**Example 4.2** Johann Friedrich Reichardt's arrangement of "Ohne Lieb' und ohne Wein," in *Lieder geselliger Freude*, vol. I (1796).

could have been a well-known variant of this popular lied.<sup>7</sup> Be that as it may, this "smoothed" form of the first cadence seems particularly well-suited to Reichardt's "more social" agenda, insofar as it allows him to treat the first line (and its repetition) as a duet for two voices in parallel motion. Unsurprisingly, this duet continues in line three as well, which included an almost unbroken series of thirds already in Hiller's

<sup>7</sup> As Reinhold Brinkmann has pointed out, Friedrich Silcher's choral arrangement introduced a similarly "popular" melodic amendment into the melody of Schubert's *Das Lindenbaum*. See Brinkmann's "Musikalische Lyrik im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Musikalische Lyrik*, ed. Hermann Danuser (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2004), vol. II, 9–124 (quote 87).

setting (even if only in the accompaniment). However, for the close Reichardt partly changes his strategy: if the first three lines exemplified his amending the original “through the addition of more parts,” by retouching the last line as a refrain for – as the text below the bass suggests – three-part *Chor* he also improves the whole lied “through mixing solo and choral parts.”

Besides such arrangements, the two volumes of *Lieder geselliger Freude* include a number of straightforward partsongs as well, which I ignore here because we have studied an essentially similar example by Reichardt in Chapter 2 (cf. Example 2.2). And even if *Rundgesänge* remained dominant in the convivial repertory well into the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, from the late 1790s on partsongs, too, started to appear in a number of secular lied collections. Admittedly, the first experiments were not always successful in every respect: the rules of proper voice-leading, for example, were not something that all lied composers would have been able to master, as the shaky part-writing of *An die Stärke* in Friedrich Franz Hurka’s *Fünfzehn deutsche Lieder* (1797) testifies.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, the practice of providing one partsong at the end of lied collections as a kind of bonus for the audience soon became popular: Georg Ernst Gottlieb Kallenbach’s four-part *Hin ist hin, und todt ist todt* in his *Oden und Lieder* (1796), the *Frühlingsgesang* (also in four parts) from W. G. M. Jensen’s *Fünfzehn deutsche Lieder* (1799), or Adolph von Lehmann’s three-part *Lob des Wassers* in his *Gesänge am Klavier* (1800) all illustrate this trend.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, in the

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<sup>8</sup> See Friedrich Franz Hurka, *Fünfzehn deutsche Lieder mit Begleitung des Forte-piano* (Berlin: [author], [1797]), 2.

<sup>9</sup> See Georg Ernst Gottlieb Kallenbach, *Oden und Lieder zum Singen bey dem Klavier für ungeübte und geübtere Sänger und Spieler* (Magdeburg: Johann Christian Giesecke, 1796), 50; Adolph von Lehmann,

reviews of lied collections in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (hereafter *AmZ*), launched in 1798, individual songs in three or four parts are regularly described in a matter-of-fact tone, without any implication that they overstep the generic boundaries of the lied proper. This attitude, of course, was in part due to educated musicians' obvious predilection for this genre: reviews routinely stressed how grateful the public must be for contributions to this hitherto little-cultivated field,<sup>10</sup> and in 1804 Bernhard Christoph Ludwig Natorp went so far as to demand better music instruction in city schools on the basis of a wholly new argument, namely that "such musical exercises would be exceptionally important not only for the church singing and for the introduction of new chorales and arias, but also for the much too neglected social [*gesellschaftlich*] singing."<sup>11</sup> Undeniably, the first years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw an

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*Gesänge am Klavier* (Dessau: Menge, 1800), 24; W. G. M. Jensen, *Funfzehn deutsche Lieder mit Begleitung des Klaviers* (Königsberg: [author], 1799), 22.

<sup>10</sup> A typical example is a review of Johann Friedrich Samuel Döring's *XII vierstimmige Chorgesänge von verschiedenen Tonkünstlern*, according to which "[t]he more wide-spread the predilection for partsongs at present becomes, the more meritorious it is to procure a selection of noble songs, and in every way support such a beautiful entertainment." See *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode* 30 (1815), 289–290: "Je allgemeiner sich gegenwärtig der Geschmack am mehrstimmigen Gesange verbreitet, desto verdienstlicher ist es, für eine Auswahl edler Gesänge zu sorgen, und auf jede Weise eine solche schöne Unterhaltung zu befördern."

<sup>11</sup> Bernhard Christoph Ludwig Natorp, *Grundriss zur Organisation allgemeiner Stadtschulen* (Duisburg and Essen: Bädeker, 1804), 161. Quoted in Rainer Lorenz, *Musikpädagogik in den ersten 30 Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel Carl Gottlieb Herings* (Mainz: Schott, 1988), 168: "Nicht bloss für den Kirchengesang und für die Einführung neuer Choräle und Arien, sondern auch für den viel

enormous increase in the number of partsong publications, which even the *AmZ* struggled to keep up with: while the index to the 1800–1801 volume simply listed partsongs among the *Kantaten, Lieder und andere Gesänge*, the next volume featured a separate rubric for *Vierstimmige Gesänge* (duets and trios remaining among the mixed vocal pieces), and by 1804–1805 the genre was granted a category of its own labeled most generally as *Fünf-, Vier-, Drey- und Zweistimmige Gesänge*. Of course, it would be naive to attribute all this increase in popularity to the support of the musical intelligentsia; as the late 18<sup>th</sup>-century vogue of *Rundgesänge* demonstrates, around this time pieces appropriate for “more social” singing were in great need everywhere even without immediate didactic motivations. The emergence of the partsong therefore primarily depended on the – by now evidently improving – musical abilities of the dilettante circles, as well as the presence of an accessible and attractive repertory.

At this point we must take another short geographical excursus. If Swiss choruses proved worthy models for Germans as regards the *geistlich* repertory, it was the Austrian tradition that came to have an immense impact on the development of secular partsongs, and proved especially important in making part-singing popular through an increasing number of easy-to-perform works. In the next chapter I shall discuss in detail how Michael Haydn established a Salzburg school, as it were, with his male quartets around 1795, so for now it should suffice that works by some of his students – like Benedict Hacker or Johann Georg Schinn – also became well-known in Northern Germany. But the by far most important, as well as astonishingly prolific, partsong composer of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Leonhard von Call, was active in Vienna, although his influence proved ubiquitous through his numerous publications that

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zu sehr vernachlässigten gesellschaftlichen Gesang würden solche musikalische Übungen ungemein wichtig seyn.”

flooded the North German market as well. Admittedly, modern commentators have been less impressed by Call's vocal writing, which is often rather aria-like with its frequent coloratura flourishes and word repetitions.<sup>12</sup> However, few contemporaries appear to have shared such reservations: even the otherwise critical *AmZ* tended to speak favorably of Call's compositional skill, and admitted that his works were so characteristic as to let the listener recognize them even without knowing the composer's name.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, most critics were rather unhappy with the poems Call chose for his compositions: an 1804 review of his *Gesänge für Sopran, Tenor und Bass* (op. 7) insisted that, "even in such small works, one should not stoop farther down to the wholly uneducated person than is necessary in order to be able to raise him higher,"<sup>14</sup> and seven years later another reviewer praised Call's recent improvement only conditionally: "one finds here somewhat more care in the choice of

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<sup>12</sup> See Editha Alberti-Radanowicz, "Das Wiener Lied von 1789–1815," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 10 (1923), 37–76 (quote 45).

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, the review of several volumes of Call's partsongs in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* [hereafter *AmZ*] 14 (1812), 530–532 (quote 530). Already by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, however, this characteristic style came to be seen as trivial, and even a sign of Call's having sold out, as it were. See Otto Elben, *Der volksthümliche deutsche Männergesang, seine Geschichte, seine gesellschaftliche und nationale Bedeutung* (Tübingen: Laupp & Siebeck, 1855), 211.

<sup>14</sup> See the anonymous review in *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 160–162 (quote 161–162): "Man sollte auch in solchen Werkchen sich nicht tiefer zu dem ganz Ungebildeten herablassen, als nöthig ist, um ihn höher heben zu können."



texts than in the first two volumes – which, however, is not to say that even more could not have been done in this respect.”<sup>15</sup>

Call’s oeuvre falls outside the scope of the present study, but criticism of this kind proved characteristic not merely of his reception, but also of the numerous reviews dedicated to collections stemming from Southern Germany. The second volume of *Gesellschaftliche Lieder für vier Stimmen*, published by Macario Falter in Munich, and discussed in the *AmZ* on 5 February 1800, may serve as an example. Although the reviewer opens with the usual cliché that “[o]ne tends to thankfully receive every contribution to the proliferation of social pleasure,” and even praises the excellence of both paper and printing of the volume, he immediately takes back this compliment by adding that “[c]loser investigation, however, found that the exterior is the best in it.”<sup>16</sup> Most importantly, out of the twelve pieces at most three have texts that could be recommended to a well-bred company:

How should one take delight in disasters like the following?

What, what, what!

What is that at last?

When it’s raining, it makes wet,

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<sup>15</sup> Anonymous review of Call’s *Sechs Gesänge zu drey Singstimmen*, vol. IV, and *Sechs Gesänge zu vier Singstimmen*, vol. V (Munich: Falter, [1810]) in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 15: “in der Wahl der Texte findet sich hier etwas mehr Sorgfalt, als in den ersten beyden Heften – womit jedoch nicht gesagt seyn soll, dass nicht dafür noch mehr hätte gethan werden können.”

<sup>16</sup> Anonymous review in *AmZ* 2 (1799–1800), 324–326 (quote 324–325): “Man ist geneigt, jeden musikalischen Beytrag zur Vermehrung der gesellschaftlichen Freude dankbar aufzunehmen [...] Allein bey näherer Untersuchung ergab sich, dass das Aeussere das Beste daran sey.”

Makes some beauties wet,  
But this is for her only a joke,  
If her *Hansel* also becomes wet.

Only a joke,  
So it is.

[...] But what educated person will publish such a thing, and expect other people to sing it? Should it nevertheless be published: how easily could one underlay different words?<sup>17</sup>

Admittedly, read as a poem in its own right, these words have little to offer. However, if sung with the music, they can certainly be a lot of fun for the performers – precisely due to the ironic discrepancy between the light text and its somewhat more serious setting (see Example 4.3). The rather colloquial opening query is first presented as a

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 325–326: “Was soll man sich wohl an Miseren ergötzen, wie folgende:

Was, was, was!  
Was ist doch endlich das?  
Ja wenn es regnet, macht es nass,  
Macht manche Schöne nass,  
Doch dies ist ihr denn nur ein Spass,  
Wenn ihr der *Hansel* auch wird nass,  
Nur ein Spass,  
So ist das.

[...] aber welcher Mensch von Bildung wird so etwas ins Publikum hervorziehen, und andern gebildeten Menschen zumuthen, es zu singen? Sollte es ja ins Publikum gebracht werden: wie leicht konnten andere Worte untergelegt werden?”

**Langsam**

1 Was, was, was was ist doch end - lich das? Was, was,

2 Was, was, was was ist doch end - lich das? Was, was,

Tenor Was, was, was was ist doch end - lich das? Was, was,

Bass Was, was, was was ist doch end - lich das? Was, was,

was was ist doch end - lich das? Was ist doch das? Ja *p*

was was ist doch end - lich das? Was ist doch das?

T was was ist doch end - lich das? Was ist doch das?

B was was ist doch end - lich das? Was ist doch das? Was ist doch das?

**Example 4.3** Anonymous, “Was, was, was,” in *Gesellschaftliche Lieder für vier Stimmen*, vol. II (1799).

### Example 4.3 (Continued)

11

wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, ja wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, *pp*

wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, *p* *pp*

T wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, *p* *pp*

B wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, *p* *pp*

16

macht nass, macht nass. Ja *f*

macht nass, macht nass.

T macht nass, macht nass.

B Wenn's - reg - net, macht es nass, macht man - che Schö - ne nass.

Etwas geschwinder

### Example 4.3 (Continued)

21

wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, macht man - che Schö - ne nass, doch

Wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, macht man - che Schö - ne nass, doch

*f*

Wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, macht man - che Schö - ne nass,

*f*

Wenn es reg - net, macht es nass, macht man - che Schö - ne nass,

*f*

25

dies ist ihr dann nur ein Spass, wenn ihr Han - sel wird auch nass, wenn ihr

*p*

dies ist ihr dann nur ein Spass, wenn ihr Han - sel wird auch nass, wenn ihr

*p*

dies ist ihr dann nur ein Spass, wenn ihr Han - sel wird auch nass, wenn ihr

*p*

dies ist ihr dann nur ein Spass, wenn ihr Han - sel wird auch nass, nass, nass, wenn ihr

*p*

### Example 4.3 (Continued)

29

Han - sel wird auch nass, wenn ihr Han - sel wird auch nass.

Han - sel wird auch nass, wenn ihr Han - sel wird auch nass.

T 8 Han - sel wird auch nass, wenn ihr Han - sel wird auch nass.

B Han - sel wird auch nass, nass, nass, wenn ihr Han - sel wird auch nass.

33 **Langsam**

Nur ein Spass, so ist das.

Nur ein Spass, so ist das.

T 8 Nur ein Spass, so ist das.

B Nur ein Spass, so ist das.

resolute declaration (mm. 1–4), then as a grave question (mm. 5–10) that should arguably prompt a response of comparable weight. But at this point the soprano unexpectedly glides down a semitone, the dynamics drop to pianissimo, and we hear the utter commonplace “when it’s raining, it makes wet” whispered as a secret revelation. To be sure, this sentence does not seem to answer the opening question, and so this episode (mm. 11–14) at first appears as a mere interruption, whose mock-festive continuation seeks to prepare even more decisively the arrival of the true response in m. 21. Nevertheless, the text of the new section, “somewhat faster” and forte, merely recaptures this wisdom and elaborates on it in a similar tone, while the music proves equally redundant by twice repeating the opening (mm. 1–4) in a varied form (with denser rhythmic values and a hint of extra chromaticism). Intriguingly, even the repeated cadences of mm. 8–10 return – much more varied and extended – in mm. 28–32, suggesting that the opening question was indeed a hoax, for its response did not get us any further, either. If so, it is only fair to assure both singers and listeners in a stately, if short, coda that all this was “only a joke, so it is.”

It seems easy to understand how pieces like this could have frustrated those invested in the education of people through music, but of course the angry reviews had little effect on the popularity of such lowbrow collections. Indeed, as time went on more and more critics seemed open to the idea that *gesellschaftliche Lieder* – or, as the term solidified during the 1790s, *Gesellschaftslieder*<sup>18</sup> – should be understood as

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<sup>18</sup> Wilhelm Uhl has suggested that the term *Gesellschaftslied* was first used in 1796 by the Zurich poet Martin Usteri for his *Freut euch des Lebens*, which acquired outstanding popularity with a melody usually attributed to none other than Nägeli. See Uhl’s *Das deutsche Lied: Acht Vorträge* (Leipzig: Eduard Avenarius, 1900), 160. Whether this derivation is correct or not, the word *Gesellschaftslied* indeed appears to have come into circulation in the final decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a general term for

belonging to a genre of their own, wherein higher expectations regarding textual and musical artistry could in part be suspended. An 1808 review of the third volume of Bernhard Anselm Weber's *Gesänge bey'm Pianoforte zu singen*, for example, analyzed the concluding three-part chorus in sharp terms, but found an excuse: "The music is not excellent, nor is the text. As a *Gesellschaftslied*, however, the little piece is suitable, and not without effect."<sup>19</sup> Another critic noted in 1818 that in Peter von Winter's *Lied an der Freude* "everything is so easy to perform, as it must be in a *Gesellschaftslied*," and also hinted that more complex solutions would have been contrary to the nature of this genre.<sup>20</sup> Intriguingly, a number of authors hesitated to express their individual opinion about pieces evidently written for a group of people, and so it became common to write reviews in the name of "the reviewer and his friends."<sup>21</sup> Such sympathy toward potentially "lowbrow" music and texts, however,

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convivial lieder whose musical realization allowed for participation of several people (whether in the form of a unison chorus, or as a partsong proper).

<sup>19</sup> See the anonymous review in *AmZ* 10 (1807–1808), 829–830 (quote 829): "Die Musik ist nicht ausgezeichnet, wie auch der Text es nicht ist. Als Gesellschaftslied ist aber das kleine Stück gut zu gebrauchen und nicht ohne Wirkung."

<sup>20</sup> See the anonymous review in *AmZ* 20 (1818), 299–300 (quote 299): "Auszuführen ist alles so leicht, wie es bey einem Gesellschaftsliede seyn soll." In connection with Anton Felix Beczwarzowsky's setting of the very same poem (Schiller's *Ode to joy*), another critic also suggested in 1802 that a *Gesellschaftslied* should by no means be through-composed. See the anonymous review in *AmZ* 4 (1801–1802), 761–763 (quote 761).

<sup>21</sup> See the anonymous review of Call's op. 10 in *AmZ* 10 (1807–1808), 15–16 (quote 16): "[...] haben Ref[erent] und seinen Freunden am besten gefallen." This phrase also appears varied in the review of



was not yet common around the turn of the century, which prompted many to try to counter the, as it were, unworthy partsongs of the Austrian collections with a more exacting repertory.

### **Growing Ambitions**

If Reichardt's *Lieder geselliger Freude* of 1796–97 could be seen as the first step toward reestablishing the secular partsong in the contemporary repertory, Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab's 1802 *Frohe und gesellige Lieder für 2 Soprane, Tenor und Bass* may be called the second. Reichardt's goal had been to counterbalance the shortcomings of earlier collections, which typically contained “hardly two or three lieder whose content and melody would be appropriate for a mixed, merry company.” Rellstab, who was searching specifically for four-part lieder, faced an even greater lack of material, and complained in his preface that, “[i]n four parts, one will not be able to show a dozen printed merry songs, while there is a legion of them composed for clavier and with clavier accompaniment.”<sup>22</sup> Indeed, the lack of repertory started to create a vicious circle: even if Falter's publications made part-singing increasingly popular, those willing to move beyond this poetically less demanding repertory had

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Friedrich Wilhelm Grund's *Sechs deutsche Lieder von Theodor Körner und La Motte Fouqué* in *AmZ* 17 (1815), 696: “Am schönsten gefallen Ref[erent] mit seinen Freunden [...]”.

<sup>22</sup> Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab (ed.), *Frohe und gesellige Lieder für zwei Soprane, Tenor, und Bass nach Mozart, Reichardt, J. P. A. Schulz*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Rellstabsche Musikhandlung, [1802]), foreword. Quoted in Bernhard Seyfert, “Das musikalisch-volksthümliche Lied von 1770–1800,” *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 10 (1894), 33–102 (quote 82): “Man wird vierstimmig kein Dutzend gedruckte frohe Gesänge aufzeigen können, während dagegen derer am Klavier und mit Klavierbegleitung komponirten Legion ist.”

virtually nothing to work with, which hindered the growth of such singing companies that could have inspired composers to create the appropriate repertory. Unsurprisingly, Rellstab too found it necessary to print lieder that were originally set for solo voice with keyboard accompaniment.

Of the numerous such arrangements, the opening number of the 1803 second volume proves an illuminating example.<sup>23</sup> Rellstab names Mozart as composer, but this is a mistake: the lied is attributed to him only in Rellstab's own – wholly uncritical – edition of thirty-three Mozart songs, out of which only seven seem authentic.<sup>24</sup> That said, the differences between Mozart's "original" *Maylied* (marked C 8.22 in the Köchel catalog; see Example 4.4) and its arrangement (arguably by Rellstab himself; see Example 4.5) seem instructive. To be sure, the most conspicuous changes are of little musical consequence: Rellstab selects a more comfortable range by transposing the song from F to A major, notates 6/8 instead of 3/8 meter, and by necessity omits the keyboard's introduction and postlude. But the melody remains the same, as is fitting to the "soul of the lied" (as Reichardt called it). At the same time, the bass differs from the piano's left hand, but much of this discrepancy simply results

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<sup>23</sup> Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab, *Frohe und gesellige Lieder für 2 Soprane, Tenor und Bass, nach Hurka, Mozart, Reichardt, Rellstab, J. A. P. Schulz, Seidel*, vol. II, op. 329 (Berlin: Rellstabsche Musikhandlung, [1803]).

<sup>24</sup> See Rudolf Elvers, "Die bei J. F. K. Rellstab in Berlin bis 1800 erschienenen Mozart-Drucke," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1957, 152–167 (quote 166). For the original publication of this lied, see Rellstab's *Sämmtliche Lieder und Gesänge bey dem Fortepiano vom Capellmeister W. A. Mozart*, op. 253 (Berlin: Rellstabsche Musikhandlung, 1798), 57. As Neal Zaslaw has kindly reminded me, this lied could have seemed to Rellstab all the more Mozartian due to the similarity of its opening to *Bei Männern, welche Liebe fühlen* from *The Magic Flute*.

Andantino

Voice

Will - kom - men, lie - ber

mezzo *f*

schö - ner May, der un - sre Flur ver - jüugt, das rings - um

Laub und Blu - me neu aus vol - len Knos - pen dringt.

ten.

**Example 4.4** Anonymous, “Maylied,” in *Sämtliche Lieder und Gesänge bey dem Fortepiano vom Capellmeister W. A. Mozart* (1798).

**Example 4.4 (Continued)**

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a single treble clef line with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. It contains whole rests in measures 21, 22, and 23, followed by a double bar line in measure 24. The middle staff is a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one flat. It contains a melodic line in the treble clef with eighth notes in measures 21, 22, and 23, followed by a double bar line in measure 24. The bass clef of the middle staff contains a whole note chord in measure 21, a whole note chord in measure 22, and a whole note chord in measure 23, followed by a double bar line in measure 24. The word "decresc." is written above the bass clef in measure 22. The bottom staff is a single bass clef line with a key signature of one flat. It contains a whole note chord in measure 21, a whole note chord in measure 22, and a whole note chord in measure 23, followed by a double bar line in measure 24.

from the note-repetitions that the scansion of the text requires – apart from these, only a few octave transpositions are altered. All these changes seem straightforward, but the two middle voices cannot be derived from the keyboard part so mechanically. Although the second soprano starts out by reproducing the middle voice in mm. 1–2 (counting the arrangement’s bars), it is given a rest at the beginning of m. 3, and fills in the cadence in m. 4 with a figure that has no precedent in the original (the glide from B natural to B flat would of course have been less appropriate in a vocal part). This strategy recurs in the second half: in mm. 5–6 the keyboard part’s middle voice is recognizable, but for the spiciest moment of the whole lied in m. 7 the first soprano suddenly remains alone with the bass, and the second soprano again returns somewhat “belated” to end the piece with a descending triad (which is of course related to the arpeggios of the keyboard accompaniment, but appears here as “new material” nevertheless). Finally, the tenor moves altogether independently from the original solo lied throughout the piece, and picks up a middle voice only for m. 3; even here, however, it amends the “logical” B–D-sharp to B–E–D-sharp, thus preparing a pleasant rhyme for the B–E–D figure of the second soprano in m. 4.

**Andantino**

Soprano I  
Will - kom - men lie - ber schö - ner May, der un - sre Flur ver -

Soprano II  
Will - kom - men lie - ber schö - ner May, der un - sre

Tenor  
Will - kom - men lie - ber schö - ner May, der un - sre Flur ver -

Bass  
Will - kom - men lie - ber schö - ner May, der un - sre Flur ver -

S  
jüngt, das rings - um Laub und Blu - me neu aus

S  
Flur ver - jüngt, das rings - um Laub und Blu - me neu

T  
jüngt, das rings - um Laub und Blu - me neu

B  
jüngt, das rings - um Laub und Blu - me neu aus

**Example 4.5** Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab's arrangement of "Maylied," in *Frohe und gesellige Lieder für 2 Soprane, Tenor und Bass*, vol. II (1802).

### Example 4.5 (Continued)

7

S vol - - len Knos - pen dringt.

S aus vol - len Knos - pen dringt.

T aus vol - len Knos - pen dringt.

B vol - - len Knos - pen dringt.

Of course, this four-part *Maylied* is scarcely an unrivaled masterpiece. Nonetheless, it is precisely these details of voice-leading that render Rellstab's piece a true arrangement rather than a straightforward transcription; the care he took may easily be seen as a reflection of the growing interest in the partsong in general. Indeed, around this time some lieder began to be published simultaneously as both partsongs and solo lieder with keyboard accompaniment. An explicit example is F. X. Weiss's "Six lieder for clavier and solo voice, and also for four voices with the accompaniment of four string instruments" (1803),<sup>25</sup> but even Friedrich Heinrich Himmel's lied *Für Betrübte*, which the title explicitly describes as "a song for four parts," was considered as presenting but an alternative: "It indeed makes the best impression in four parts, but it can also be performed not without effect by a soprano voice, since the four voices

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<sup>25</sup> F. X. Weiss, *6 Lieder fürs Klavier und eine Singstimme, und zugleich zu 4 Singstimmen mit Begleitung von 4 Saiteninstrumenten*, vol. IV (1803).

are reduced for the piano.”<sup>26</sup> Due to the inevitable extra costs, such keyboard reductions never became common in lied publications, but reviewers kept praising them as a great help not merely for the solo singer (who could thus accompany herself), but also for those studying the work<sup>27</sup> – even though to actually perform choruses with keyboard accompaniment, as I have noted in Chapter 2, was viewed less and less favorably. Thus, the presence or absence of instrumental accompaniment in partsong publications remained but a practical factor with no generic consequences, and was taken into consideration only in mechanical catalogs like the 1817 first edition of Carl Friedrich Whistling’s *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* (but was ignored even there as unessential in the second supplement of 1819 and later editions).<sup>28</sup>

One of the early exceptions from this tendency is Franz Danzi’s 1803 collection *Acht Vierstimmige Gesänge*, which explicitly stresses the obligatory

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<sup>26</sup> Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, *Für Betrübte, ein Gesang für 4 Singstimmen* (Berlin: Werckmeister, [1805]). Reviewed anonymously in *AmZ* 8 (1805–1806), 558–559 (quote 559): “Vierstimmig nimmt er sich allerdings am besten aus, doch kann er auch, da die vier Stimmen für das Pianoforte zusammengezogen sind, von Einer Sopranstimme nicht ohne Wirkung vorgetragen werden.”

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, the *AmZ*’s reviews of Adolph von Lehmann’s *Vierstimmige Gesänge ohne Begleitung zur Belebung gesellschaftlicher Unterhaltung* (14 [1812], 160) and August Harder’s *Vierstimmige Gesänge: Ein Geschenk für Schulen und Singchöre* (15 [1813], 710).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the first edition (Leipzig: Anton Meysel, 1817), 534–538, and the second supplement (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1819), 59–62. A review of the latter even explicitly praised the editors for giving up this trumped-up distinction; see *AmZ* 21 (1819), 863–864 (quote 864).

character of the piano accompaniment.<sup>29</sup> Even in this case, however, the advertisement left the door open for *a cappella* performance as well, by explaining that these were “four-part songs, all with piano accompaniment, and this so easy that most can be performed also without any accompaniment.”<sup>30</sup> Whether performed with or without piano, Danzi’s pieces rise well above the majority of contemporary partsong compositions, and the collection concludes with one of the few early partsongs that may prove wholly satisfactory to the modern musician as regards both text and music (see Example 4.6). Unsurprisingly, this gem much impressed Friedrich Rochlitz as well, for he reprinted it in the *AmZ* – a gesture that may be read as the artistic knighting, as it were, of the secular partsong genre in general.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, such satisfaction remained more the exception than the rule, since the majority of the published repertory fell short of the high-minded ideas of the musical intelligentsia. To oversimplify the matter, an ideal partsong was expected to set an artistically, as well didactically, valuable poem to demanding, or at least non-trivial music; the piece by Danzi was apparently considered successful in this regard. At the other extreme stood the countless songs from the Falterian collections, whose irrelevant texts (along the

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<sup>29</sup> The full title reads: *Acht Vierstimmige Gesänge für zwei Soprane, Tenor und Bass mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 17 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1803]).

<sup>30</sup> See the announcement in *AmZ* 6 (1803–1804), 14–15: “vierstimmige Gesänge, sämtlich mit Begleitung des Pianoforte, und mit so einfacher, dass die meisten auch ohne alle Begleitung vorgetragen werden können.”

<sup>31</sup> See the appendix to the 5 October 1803 issue of the *AmZ*. While the appearance of this piece in the journal is significant, it is worth keeping in mind that both Danzi’s collection and the *AmZ* were published by Breitkopf & Härtel.



No. 8.

*Andante.*

Due Soprani.

Tenore.

Basso.

Pianoforte.

Selbst die glücklichste der E - hen, Mädchen, hat ihr Un - ge mach, selbst die be - sten Männer ge - hen öf - fers

Selbst die glücklichste der E - hen, Mädchen, hat ihr Un - ge - mach, selbst die be - sten Männer ge - hen öf - fers

Selbst die glücklichste der E - hen, Mädchen, hat ihr Un - ge - mach, selbst die be - sten Männer ge - hen öf - fers

**Example 4.6** Franz Danzi, “Selbst die glücklichste der Ehen,”  
in *Acht Vierstimmige Gesänge* (1803).

Example 4.6 (Continued)

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system contains three staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The second system contains four staves: a vocal line (treble clef), a piano accompaniment line (treble clef), a bass line (bass clef), and a fourth staff (bass clef) which appears to be a continuation or a second vocal part. The lyrics are in German and are written below the staves.

**System 1:**

- Vocal: ih - ren Lau - nen nach. Wer sich von dem gold - nen Rin - ge gold - ne Ta - ge nur ver - spricht, o der kennt den Lauf der
- Piano: ih - ren Lau - nen nach. Wer sich von dem gold - nen Rin - ge gold - ne Ta - ge nur ver - spricht, o der kennt den Lauf der
- Bass: ih - ren Lau - nen nach. Wer sich von dem gold - nen Rin - ge gold - ne Ta - ge nur ver - spricht, o der kennt den Lauf der

**System 2:**

- Vocal: Din - ge und das Herz des Men - schen nicht.
- Piano: Din - ge und das Herz des Men - schen nicht.
- Bass: Din - ge und das Herz des Men - schen nicht.
- Fourth Staff: Din - ge und das Herz des Men - schen nicht.

lines of *Was, was, was*<sup>32</sup>) were often paired with sketchy melodies, and casual part-writing.<sup>33</sup> The bulk of the repertory, of course, fell between these two poles, and it seems clear that in judging these pieces the “advocates of serious musical culture” were more likely to forgive the modest quality of the setting than the unedifying nature of the text: a man of good intentions evidently seemed more likely to learn the rules of counterpoint than a composer of bad taste to learn respect toward the high goals of his art.

The most interesting cases, however, are those in which high-minded analysts encountered works whose musical worth proved impossible to deny, but wherein the musical competence seemed wasted, as it were, on unworthy texts. For the more forgiving critics, several of Call’s works belonged in this category, but it is the reception of Joseph Haydn’s partsongs that proves the most revealing. The well-known review of his *Mehrstimmige Gesänge* (composed in the late 1790s, though published only in 1803) first points out how this collection satisfies an obvious need of

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<sup>32</sup> In 1802 a learned reviewer enumerated the most characteristic types of inappropriate texts, denouncing the “*Au–Au– und Wau–Wau–Arien*,” the “*Hum–Hum, dumm–dumm–Duette*,” and even otherwise fine poems with overly onomatopoeic ambitions like “*Hurre, Rädchen, hurre, / Schnurre, mädchen, schnurre*” (presumably a variant of Gottfried August Bürger’s *Spinnerlied* that also appears in Haydn’s *The Seasons*). See the review of Herder’s collection *Adrastea* (vol. IV; Leipzig: Hartknoch, 1801) in *AmZ* 4 (1801–1802), 529–535, 545–553 (quote 546).

<sup>33</sup> Apart from the poor quality of the texts, the afore-quoted review of Falter’s *Gesellschaftliche Lieder für vier Stimmen* (cf. note 16 above) raised several objections regarding the music as well: the unnatural rigidity of the melodies, the embarrassingly high range of the tenor (which would rather conform to an alto, if not soprano), the primitiveness of the bass, and the penurious texture, in which the middle voices double each other so often that one can scarcely speak of four-part writing in the strict sense.

the time, adding that some of the pieces might nevertheless prove too difficult for many:

They are all fugued [*fugirt*], and therefore require attention from each of the singers. The application of this fugued [style] to the comic, the simplicity of the accompaniment, and the lively and unforced expression that resides in each voice is just as new as instructive for young composers in our times, when everything is calculated on a vast contribution of the instrumental accompaniment. [...] I wish the noble Haydn felt like presenting the world with more pieces of this kind, which would be set in particular to religious, Latin or German texts from the Bible. The comic is, of course, not to be despised, either; nonetheless, we do have [too] much of the comic in recent times, while of the serious and religious much too little.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Anonymous review of Joseph Haydn's *Drey- und vierstimmige Gesänge mit Begleitung des Fortepiano* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1803) in *AmZ* 5 (1802–1803), 799–800 (quote 800): “Sie sind alle fugirt und nöthigen daher jeden Sänger zu eigener Aufmerksamkeit. Die Anwendung dieses Fugirten auf das komische, die Einfachheit der Begleitung und der lebhafte und ungezwungene Ausdruck, welcher in jeder Stimme liegt, ist in unsern Zeiten, wo alles auf eine ungeheure Mitwirkung der Instrumentalbegleitung kalkulirt wird, eben so neu als lehrreich für junge Komponisten. [...] Möchte es doch dem edlen Haydn gefallen, die Welt mit mehrern Stücken solcher Art zu beschenken, die besonders über religiöse, lateinische oder deutsche Bibeltexte komponirt wären. Das Komische ist freylich auch nicht zu verachten; allein wir haben des Komischen doch auch viel und des Ernsthaften und Religiösen dagegen in neuerer zeit, viel zu wenig.”

That the reviewer takes “the application of this fugued [style] to the comic” for an innovation, is intriguing;<sup>35</sup> no less noteworthy is his effort to immediately silence this side of Haydn’s muse by urging him to use his technical mastery in a field that truly deserves it. Indeed, Haydn’s fugual writing became a standard that others’ compositions were inevitably compared to: Carl Maria von Weber praised Gottfried Weber’s *Zwölf vierstimmige Gesänge* (1812) for following in Haydn’s footsteps “regarding ideas, as well as aesthetic and artistic treatment,”<sup>36</sup> while Gottfried Weber himself compared the musical style of Karl Wagner’s partsongs (1815) to the Haydnian models, even while noting regretfully what a pity it was that “such significant treatment, basically created for higher purposes, was applied to so insignificant texts.”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> For a detailed analysis of the partsong *Die Beredsamkeit* as an eminent example of Haydn’s humorous use of the “fugued style,” see my “‘Learned style’ in two Lessing settings by Haydn,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 1 (2004), 29–46 (especially 30–39).

<sup>36</sup> Carl Maria von Weber’s review of Gottfried Weber’s *Zwölf vierstimmige Gesänge für zwei Soprane, Tenor und Bass mit begleitendem Piano Forte*, vol. 1 (Augsburg: Gombart, [1812]) in *AmZ* 14 (1812), 515–517 (quote 515): “in der Idee, wie in der ästhetischen und artistischen Behandlung”. The review commends the composer in particular for his ambitious treatment of harmony – a fact hardly surprising if one considers that Gottfried Weber soon made a name as one of the greatest harmonic theorists of his time.

<sup>37</sup> See Gottfried Weber’s review of Karl Wagner’s *Zufriedenheit* and *Erinnerungen* (both published by Schott in Mainz) in *AmZ* 17 (1815), 543–544 (quote 544): “Schade, möchte man sagen, dass solche bedeutsame, und im Grunde für höhere Zwecke geschaffne Behandlung auf so unbedeutende Texte verwendet worden!” Weber’s critical remark is all the more ironic, since the afore-quoted review of Haydn’s own partsongs already revealed a similar mistrust regarding those works as well; the coupling of insignificant texts and technically masterful music has therefore been part of the tradition of

These later examples notwithstanding, the most fascinating representative of this “fugued comic” tendency is perhaps Anton André’s *Sprüchwörter* (1807), which was in fact reprinted in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century attributed to Joseph Haydn.<sup>38</sup> In accordance with its title, the work consists of a series of six proverbs, each of which is depicted in the music with embarrassing literalness. The reviewer of the *AmZ* called this “a strange and truly original idea,”<sup>39</sup> but it is worth recalling that the “performance” of proverbs appears to have been a popular game at the time: publications like the 1806 “What are we to do today? A collection of parlor games and lieder for educated circles” often included a chapter on “Proverbs that are especially

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reception associated with Haydn, rather than a deviation from it. For a more detailed discussion of Joseph Haydn’s partsongs and their contemporary reception, see my “Between Tradition, Innovation and Utopia: Haydn’s *mehrstimmige Gesänge*,” *Studia Musicologica: An International Journal of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* 51 (2010), 179–191.

<sup>38</sup> Josef Haydn [recte: Anton André], *Sprüchwörter für Sopran, Alt, Tenor und Bass*, ed. Adolf Kaim (Munich: Joseph Aibl, [1869]). This misattributed publication prompted heated polemics in the contemporary press, which are faithfully reproduced as an appendix to the 1870 reprint of the work: Anton André, *Sprüchwörter für vier Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 32 (Offenbach: André, [1870]). While the former edition (under Haydn’s name) was based on manuscript parts, the latter reprint could draw on André’s autograph score that still lay among the files of the publishing house (the question of authenticity thus being answered).

<sup>39</sup> Anonymous review of Anton André, *Sprüchwörter für vier Singstimmen mit Klavierbegleitung*, op. 32 (Offenbach am Main: Johann André, [1807]), in *AmZ* 9 (1806–1807), 799–802 (quote 799): “Ein wunderlicher, und wirklich origineller Einfall.”



suited for dramatic representation.”<sup>40</sup> André’s work fittingly starts with “Every beginning is difficult” (*Aller Anfang ist schwer*), which indeed proves wearisome for the singers not merely because of its “fugued” style, but also due to the extreme chromaticism of the subject itself (see Example 4.7). The second section, set to the words “Big jumps rarely succeed” (*Grosse Sprünge gerathen selten*), increases the tempo (*Un poco più moto*), as well as the technical difficulty. The theme of the soprano, which features leaps of an octave and an eleventh (see mm. 22–23), is freely imitated by the other parts, until the process culminates in mm. 29–31 with a series of break-neck intervals in all four voices, including an unlikely double octave for the soprano. The third “movement” (starting at m. 33) speeds up even further (*Ancora un poco più moto*), and the proverb “Like and like join gladly” (*Gleich und gleich gesellt sich gern*) is again perfectly played out in music through a peculiar texture wherein “the four voices link up closely in two plus two for long, and build two tender couples.”<sup>41</sup> But the true *pièce de résistance* arrives only with m. 82 (see Example 4.8). André first asserts the main thesis of the section in dignified unison with a most authoritative descending octave at the end: “To each his own” (*Jedem das Seine*). After this the bass enters with a subject on C, which the soprano imitates on G, then the tenor also on G, and finally the alto again on C. From a harmonic point of view, all

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<sup>40</sup> *Was fangen wir heute an? Eine Sammlung gesellschaftlicher Spiele und Lieder für gebildete Cirkel* (Halle: Hemmerde und Schwetschke, 1806), 78: “Sprichwörter, die sich besonders zur dramatischen Darstellung eignen.” One can imagine that an effort to dramatically represent “A liar should have a good memory” (*Ein Lügner muss ein gutes Gedächtniss haben*) or “He stands there like butter in the sun” (*Er steht da, wie Butter an der Sonne*) must have amused those “educated circles.”

<sup>41</sup> Quoted from the anonymous review (cf. note 39), 800: “die vier Singstimmen sich lange zu zwey und zwey eng an einander schliessen und zwey zärtliche Pärchen bilden.”

**Example 4.7** Anton André, *Sprichwörter für vier Singstimmen mit Klavierbegleitung* (1807), mm. 1–49.



Moderato, quasi Adagio

Ant. Andre, Op. 32.

Sopran I. *p* Al - ler An - fang ist schwer, ist schwer, ist schwer

Sopran II. (Alt.) *p* Al - ler An -

Tenore.

Basso.

PIANO. *p*

6 fang ist schwer ist schwer ist schwer

Al - ler An -

12 Al - ler An - fang

Al - ler An - fang ist

Al - ler An - fang ist schwer ist

*crese.*

# Example 4.7 (Continued)

17 *Un poco più moto.*

ist schwer. Al - ler An - fang ist schwer, ist schwer, ist schwer. Grosse Sprün - ge, grosse Sprünge ge - ra - then

fang ist schwer. Al - ler An - fang ist schwer, ist schwer, ist schwer. Gro - sse

schwer ist schwer. Al - ler An - fang ist schwer, ist schwer, ist schwer.

schwer ist schwer. Al - ler An - fang ist schwer, ist schwer, ist schwer. *Un poco più moto.*

24 *meno piano.*

sel - ten, ge - ra - then sel - ten, ge - ra - then sel - ten, ge - ra - then sel - ten, ge - ra - then

Sprün - ge, gro - sse Sprün - ge ge - ra - then sel - ten, ge - ra - then sel - ten, ge - ra - then

Gro - sse Sprün - ge ge - ra - then

Gro - sse Sprün - ge Gro - sse Sprün - ge ge - ra - then

28

sel - ten. Gro - sse Sprünge gro - sse Sprün - ge *pp* ge - ra - then sel - ten.

sel - ten. Gro - sse Sprünge *pp* ge - ra - then sel - ten.

sel - ten. Gro - sse Sprün - ge *pp* ge - ra - then sel - ten.

sel - ten. Gro - sse Sprün - ge gro - sse Sprünge ge - ra - then sel - ten.

*pp*



# Example 4.7 (Continued)

6 *Ancora un poco più moto.*

33

Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich gern. Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich

Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich gern. Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich

Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich gern. Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich

Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich gern. Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich

*dol.*

*dol.*

40

gern. Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich gern, ge - sellt sich gern. Gleich und

gern. Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich gern, ge - sellt sich gern. Gleich und

gern, Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich gern, ge - sellt sich gern ge - sellt sich gern. Gleich und

gern, Gleich und gleich ge - sellt sich gern, ge - sellt sich gern ge - sellt sich gern. Gleich und

45

gleich ge - sellt sich gern, ge - sellt sich, ge - sellt sich gern.

gleich ge - sellt sich gern, ge - sellt sich, ge - sellt sich gern.

gleich ge - sellt sich gern, ge - sellt sich gern. Gleich und

gleich ge - sellt sich gern, ge - sellt sich gern. Gleich und

this could seem a perfectly fine fugue exposition, but for the reviewer it actually amounted to “a ghoulish confusion,”<sup>42</sup> because each of the voices indeed “sticks to its own” meter: the bass to C, the soprano to 3/4, the tenor to 6/8, and the alto to 2/4. The reader’s first thought might easily be that this passage must have been inspired by the famous ball scene from Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, but André insisted that such a series of imitations was a complete novelty: “as far as I know, no one before me has written

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*Allegro* *L'istesso Tempo.*

gleich und gleich ge. sellt sich gern. Je - dem das Sei - ne.  
 gleich und gleich ge. sellt sich gern. Je - dem das Sei - ne.  
 gleich, gleich und gleich ge. sellt sich gern. Je - dem das Sei - ne.  
 gleich, gleich und gleich ge. sellt sich gern. Je - dem das Sei - ne. Je - dem das Sei -

*f* *pp* *f* *pf*

Je - dem das Sei - ne. Je - dem das Sei - ne, das Sei -  
 Je - dem das Sei - ne. Je - dem das Sei - ne.  
 ne. Je - dem das Sei - ne, das Sei - ne, das Sei - ne.  
 Je - dem das Sei - ne. Je - dem das Sei - ne.

81

**Example 4.8** Anton André, *Sprichwörter für vier Singstimmen mit Klavierbegleitung* (1807), mm. 79–104.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 801: “eine greuliche Konfusion”.



### Example 4.8 (Continued)

ne. Je dem das Sei ne. Je dem das Sei ne. Jedem das Sei ne. Jedem das Sei ne, das Sei ne. Je dem das Sei ne. All zu viel ist un ge sund. All zu viel ist un ge sund. All zu viel ist un ge sund. All zu viel ist un ge sund.

Andante moderato.

or discussed such movements.”<sup>43</sup> Warren Kirkendale has nevertheless suggested that both Wenzel David and Gassmann could have provided models for this solution, and

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Warren Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato in Rococo and Classical Chamber Music*

(Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979), 191. For the German original, see Anton André’s posthumous *Lehrbuch der Tonsetzkunst* (Offenbach am Main: Johann André, 1843), vol. II, 257:

“meines Wissens vor mir Niemand der Art Sätze geschrieben und sich darüber ausgesprochen hat.” The corresponding section of *Sprüchwörter* is reprinted in the appendix of this volume, although André felt himself bound to warn his readers that this peculiar technique was suited only to humorous compositions.

one should also recall that Ockeghem's *Missa prolationum* may not have been wholly unknown at the time, either.<sup>44</sup> Whether André would have been aware of such early precedents or not, his setting of the next proverb – “Too much is unhealthy” (*Allzuviel ist ungesund*) – undoubtedly evokes an ancient model: the four-part chorale. As the reviewer of the *AmZ* implies, this passage does not simply wind up the confusion of the preceding fugue, but also reminds us that “after the war people usually become pious for a little while.”<sup>45</sup> After thus having found peace with each other, the four voices can now proceed to the finale: a light and fairly short G-major piece about how *Ende gut, Alles gut* – “All’s well that ends well.”

### **A Fashionable Genre**

Even if musicians today find the technical challenges of *Sprüchwörter* captivating, André’s work was a curious exception, whose trickier passages – especially the rather *Augenmusik*-like *Jedem das Seine* – could hardly have been performed by more than a handful of contemporary dilettanti. By contrast, the majority of the repertory targeted a wider audience with more modest musical abilities, as indicated for example by the

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<sup>44</sup> See Kirkendale, *Fugue and Fugato*, 191–192. In 1801 Johann Nicolaus Forkel discussed Ockeghem’s works in some detail, and described the *Missa prolationum* as a typical composition of his, “in which [...] one difficulty is piled upon the other most unnecessarily.” See Forkel’s *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1801), vol. II, 537: “worin [...] auf die unnützte Weise Schwierigkeiten auf Schwierigkeiten gehäuft sind.”

<sup>45</sup> Quoted from the anonymous review (cf. note 39), 802: “nach dem Kriege frömmeln die Leute gewöhnlich ein Weilchen.” The thoroughly homophonic style of this passage brings reconciliation on a more technical level as well, by forcing the parts to give up the obstinate individualism that marred the previous section.

title of Johann August Günther Heinroth's "Six four-part lieder with easy melody" (1807),<sup>46</sup> and by the fact that reviews often listed the typos in the music because "such works often come into the hands of those who do not know how to correct misprints."<sup>47</sup> Whether for absolute beginners or knowledgeable amateurs, however, the genre seems to have accomplished a breakthrough by the end of the decade: a number of partsong volumes appeared in 1809 by composers like August Bergt, Reichardt, Friedrich Schneider, F. Spindler, and Wilhelm Sutor; in 1810 followed others by Bergt, August Harder, Andreas Romberg; while the year 1811 saw the publication of collections by Bergt, Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, J. M. Marx, Reichardt, and Sutor.<sup>48</sup> Apparently, composers had begun to recognize both the burgeoning

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<sup>46</sup> Johann August Günther Heinroth, *Sechs vierstimmige Lieder mit leichter Melodie von Pianoforte begleitet*; advertized in *AmZ* 10 (1807–1808), *Intelligenzblatt*, 15.

<sup>47</sup> Review of Jan Ladislav Dussek, *Sechs Canons zu drey und vier Stimmen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1807]) in *AmZ* 9 (1806–1807), 770–772 (quote 772): "dergleichen Werkchen oft in Hände derer kommen, die Druckfehler nicht zu verbessern verstehen."

<sup>48</sup> August Bergt, *Terzette für drey Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte*, vol. III (Leipzig: Bureau de Musique, [1809]). Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Goethe's Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen*, vols. I–III (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1809]). Friedrich Schneider, *Zwölf dreistimmige Gesänge für zwei Tenöre und Bass* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1809]). F. Spindler, *Notturmo für vier Singstimmen mit willkürlicher Klavierbegleitung in Partitur und in Stimmen* (Offenbach am Main: André, [1809]). Idem, *Zwei Gesellschaftslieder von Kotzebue für zwei Tenore und ein Bass mit willkürlicher Klavierbegleitung* (Offenbach am Main: André, [1809]). Wilhelm Sutor, *Lieder für zwey Tenor- und zwey Bass-stimmen*, vol. I (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1809]). August Bergt, *Gesänge für zwey Tenor- und zwey Bassstimmen*, op. 7, vols. I–II (Leipzig: Kühnel, [1810]). August Harder, *Sechs Gesänge für ein, zwei und vier Stimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 31 (Leipzig: Breitkopf &

interest of the market and the increased musical potential of the genre, which of course required more technical facility from the composer as well. A reviewer of August Harder's *Sechs Gedichte von Elisa von der Recke*, for example, singled out the four-part *Abendlied* for special praise:

One observes with pleasure in this and in similar pieces how Harder has for some time, unlike so many current lied composers, not relied on his talent for melody and the acclaim of amateurs that it usually triggers, but has striven to provide his songs with content for the connoisseur as well, through more serious study of harmony. This way he also evades most safely the danger of repeating himself.<sup>49</sup>

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Härtel, [1810]). Idem, *Drey dreystimmige Gesänge für zwei Tenor-Stimmen und einen Bass*, op. 34 (Berlin: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, [1810]). Idem, *Vierstimmige Gesänge: Ein Geschenk für Schulen und Singchöre*, op. 39 (Leipzig and Berlin: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, [1810]). Andreas Romberg, *Sechs Lieder von Gleim für drei Singstimmen*, op. 20 (Hamburg: Böhme, [1810]). Idem, *Sechs Gedichte von Westphalen für drei Singstimmen*, op. 26 (Hamburg: Böhme, [1810]). August Bergt, *Gesänge für zwey Tenor- und zwey Bassstimmen*, op. 7, vol. III (Leipzig: Kühnel, [1811]). Idem, *Terzette für drey Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Piano-Forte*, vol. IV (Leipzig: Kühnel, [1811]). Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, *Häusliche Andachten, in christlichen mehrstimmigen Liedern*, vol. I (Leipzig: Kühnel, [1811]). Idem, *Volkslieder*, vols. I-II (Leipzig: Kühnel, [1811]). J. M. Marx, *Zehn Gesänge für drei und vier Männerstimmen*, op. 6 (Bonn: Simrock, [1811]). Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Goethe's Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen*, vol. IV (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1811]). Wilhelm Sutor, *Lieder für zwei Tenor- und zwei Bass-stimmen*, vol. II (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1811]).

<sup>49</sup> Anonymous review in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 245–246 (quote 246): “Mit Vergnügen bemerkt man an diesem und ähnlichen Stücken, wie H[arder] seit einiger Zeit sich nicht mehr, wie so viele der jetzigen



While it seems unlikely that the study of harmony would necessarily “vaccinate” a composer against self-repetition, it is true that amateurs with little or no theoretical background had less difficulty in jotting down a solo lied with sketchy keyboard accompaniment than writing a proper vocal texture in three or four parts. Hence it is understandable that musicians insisted on making clear distinctions between various kinds of part-writing, each of which implied a value judgment regarding the composer’s technical investment. The term *Terzett* seems to have been reserved for pieces in which the parts showed true independence: Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel’s *Drang nach Harmoniegesang*, for instance, was belittled for being “not a *Terzett* proper, but rather a small arietta distributed between three voices in a way that the few phrases are first sung in exchange, and then set for all.”<sup>50</sup> Call’s partsongs fared better,

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Liedercomponisten, auf sein Talent für Melodie und den Beyfall der Liebhaber, welcher diesem gewöhnlich folgt, verlassen mag, sondern durch ernsthafteres Studium der Harmonie seinen Gesängen auch für den Kunstverständigen Gehalt zu geben bemühet ist. Auf diesem Wege entgeht er auch am sichersten der Gefahr, sich selbst zu wiederholen.”

<sup>50</sup> Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel, *Drang nach Harmoniegesang von Berta, Terzett mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1812]). Reviewed in *AmZ* 15 (1813), 87–88 (quote 87): “ein – nicht eigentliches Terzett, sondern vielmehr, ein Ariettchen, an drey Stimmen so vertheilt, dass die wenigen Phrasen erst wechselnd vorgesungen und dann für alle ausgesetzt werden.” A similar distinction appears in a 1815 review of Carl Maria von Weber’s duets, according to which quite a few so-called “duets” by modern composers should could better be described as “aria or ariette distributed between two voices.” See the anonymous review of Weber’s *Tre duetti per due voci di soprano, coll’accompagnamento di pianoforte*, op. 30 (Berlin: Schlesinger, [1815]) in *AmZ* 17 (1815), 457–458 (quote 457): “mehr Arie oder Ariette, unter zwey Singstimmen vertheilt, heissen sollte.”

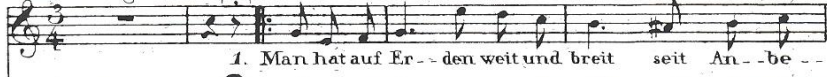
but were still not up to the best standards: “What we receive here are not *Gesellschafts*-Lieder proper [i.e. essentially homophonic pieces], but also not *Terzette* proper that require a *development* of three interconnected voices.”<sup>51</sup> August Bergt’s widely known *Terzette*, however, proved worthy of their name, and were described as being “no three-part lieder, but proper *Terzette* worked out at length; most similar to [Peter von] Winter’s [works] as regards melodic flow, harmonic simplicity, arrangement, interweaving of the voices, character of writing.”<sup>52</sup> The popularity of Bergt’s *Terzette* was arguably due precisely to their Italianate style, and should remind us that the partsong repertory – in the broad sense proposed in the Introduction – also included works that had more to do with operatic ensembles than contemporary lieder. And it was by no means only the music that could evoke operatic memories: diverse vocal pieces with Italian and (to a lesser extent) French texts were performed next to German lieder on a regular basis in any good company. In the present study, nevertheless, I focus on settings of German texts that appear to represent an


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<sup>51</sup> Anonymous review of Leonhard von Call’s *Gesänge für Sopran, Tenor und Bass*, op. 7 (Vienna: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, [1804]) in *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 160–162 (quote 161): “Es sind nicht eigentliche *Gesellschafts-Lieder*, die hier gegeben werden, aber auch nicht eigentliche *Terzette*, die eine *Ausarbeitung* dreier, verbundener Stimmen erfordern.”


<sup>52</sup> Anonymous review of August Bergt’s *Terzette für drey Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, vol. VI, in *AmZ* 18 (1816), 407–408 (quote 407): “nicht dreystimmige Lieder, sondern ins Breite ausgeführte, eigentliche *Terzette*; in Hinsicht auf melodischen Fluss, harmonische Einfachheit, Anordnung, Verwebung der Stimmen, und Charakter der Schreibart, den winterschen am ähnlichsten.” For more detailed information about Bergt’s no fewer than nine volumes of *Terzette*, see the relevant section of Michael Breugst’s work-list in his *Christian Gottlob August Bergt: Studien zu Leben und Schaffen mit einem Werkverzeichnis* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2001), 326–338.

26  
**TERZETTO III.** *Allegretto.* **Alte und neue Zeit.**

Soprano.  1. Man hat auf Er--den weit und breit seit An--be--


Tenore. 

Basso. 

Pianoforte. 

2. Es gab Prophe--ten hier und da, man hat ge--
3. Man hat geforscht, geprüft, ge-dacht, man hat be--
4. Man hat ge-hul--digt und ge-froht, man hat ge--
5. Man hat getheilt durch Loos und Bund die klein-ste
6. Die Götter steck-ten uns das Ziel, und das Ge--

*Langsamer.* 7. Drum such draus-sen nicht das Glück und zieh dich

5  ginn der al-ten Zeit, so lau-tet der Be-richt, man hat ge-pflügt, gepflanzt, ge-baut, es hat ge--



pre-digt fern und nah, vom Him-mel und Gericht; man hat geschrie-ben und ge-lehrt, man hat ge--  
 schwo-ren und verlacht den Weisen und den Wicht; den Schleier hat man auf-gedeckt und tau-send  
 äch-tet und entthront, gestempelt Recht u: Pflicht; die Ket-ten hat man ab-gesprengt und die Ty-  
 Span-ne laidegrund, den Schatten und das Licht. Es ist ge-strit-ten und gekriegt, und hundert-  
 schlecht, es stieg u: fiel, wie sich die Wo-ge bricht. Aus Zukunft ward Ver-gangenheit und jün-ger  
 in dich selbst zurück, wo dich die Dorne sticht; be-stel-le du daheim dein Haus und pflege

**Example 4.9** August Bergt, "Alte und neue Zeit," in *Terzette*, vol. VI (1816).

# Example 4.9 (Continued)

27

11

reg-net und-ge-thaut, doch schöner, schö-ner, schöner,  
 doch schö-ner, schö-ner, schö-ner,  
 doch schö-ner, schö-ner, schö-ner,  
 rä---dert und be-kehrt; doch bes-ser, bes--ser, bes--ser,  
 Fak---keln an-ge-steckt; doch hel-ler, hel--ler, hel--ler,  
 ran---nen auf-ge-hängt; doch frei-er, frei--er, frei--er,  
 mal die Welt be-siegt; doch Frie-de, Frie--de, Frie-de,  
 ward die al-te Zeit; doch neu-er, neu--er, neu--er,  
 dei---nen Veil-chen-strauss, denn an-ders, an--ders, an-ders,

16

schö-ner ward es nicht.  
 bes--ser ward es nicht.  
 hel--ler ward es nicht.  
 frei---er ward es nicht.  
 Frie---de ward es nicht.  
 neu---er ward sie nicht.  
 an---ders wird es nicht.

345.

independent partsong genre rather than the direct application of an operatic style, for example Bergt's *Alte und neue Zeit* from the sixth volume of *Terzette* (see Example 4.9). The author of the above-quoted review spoke especially highly of this piece, admitting that it seems atypical for Bergt; indeed, it may be seen as a successful attempt on his part at writing a more lied-like partsong similar to most of his contemporaries. Unlike the majority of Bergt's pieces, *Alte und neue Zeit* is set strophically, and is in every respect simple enough to invite performance by more than one singer to a part (whereas the more typical *Terzette* feature resolutely soloistic writing). On the other hand, the keyboard accompaniment remains *Terzett*-like in being obligatory – it is only for the two major cadences (in mm. 7 and 13f) that the bass singer joins in with the piano's left hand.<sup>53</sup>

Another important composer of partsongs was Gottfried Wilhelm Fink. To be sure, a good deal of the lively reception of his works was arguably thanks to the composer's friendly relationship with the staff of the *AmZ*, which eventually resulted in his taking over the editor's position in 1827. But other periodicals also gave attention to Fink's *Volkslieder* volumes, even though some reviewers raised the question if the prime ambition of an educated musician should have been “to imitate our old *Volkslieder* also in their deficiencies (as regards versification and language).”<sup>54</sup> In Chapter 2 I cited the favorable review of his first volume in the *AmZ*; this gesture

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<sup>53</sup> As James Webster has reminded me, the culmination of “schöner” in m. 15 strongly resembles the setting of the word “Schönheit” in mm. 14–15 and 42–43 of Haydn's *An die Frauen* (HXXVb:4).

<sup>54</sup> See the anonymous review of Fink's *Volkslieder mit und ohne Klavierbegleitung*, vol. IV (Leipzig: Kühnel, [1813]) in *Journal für Luxus, Mode und Gegenstände der Kunst* 28 (1813), 483–484 (quote 484): “unsere alten Volkslieder auch in ihren Mängeln (was Versification und Sprache betrifft) nachzuahmen.”

prompted Fink to provide the journal with an as yet unpublished partsong for exclusive use (although the piece later on appeared with Lischke in Berlin as well).<sup>55</sup> Whether *Der Mondschein* was also meant as a *Volkslied* cannot be gathered from the editor's short accompanying note, but the text – written, as usual, by the composer himself – does not stand out from the other poems in Fink's collections (see Example 4.10).<sup>56</sup> In addition, the beginning of Fink's setting evokes the horn-like part-writing that any contemporary amateur would immediately have recognized as a *Volkslied* topos. On the other hand, the way the male voices freely imitate the two sopranos' duet throughout mm. 2–5 sounds decidedly “unfolksy,” like the diminished seventh chords in mm. 4–5 and the tenor's chromatic slide (and the resulting bold modulation) in m. 7. If indeed meant as a “folksong,” this lied would have significantly broadened the scope of its genre in more respects than one; perhaps this is why Fink did not include it in his *Volkslieder* volumes.

*Der Mondschein* also conveniently leads to an important genre that had close connections to the partsong proper: the canon. As is well known, canons were sung widely well before partsongs again became popular, and were often subject to the same kind of high-minded criticism from both the musical and the textual point of view. A 1799 review of Carlo Angrisani's three-part nocturni, for example,

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<sup>55</sup> Cf. Carl Friedrich Whistling (ed.), *Handbuch der musikalischen Litteratur oder allgemeines systematisch geordnetes Verzeichniss der bis zum Ende des Jahres 1815 gedruckten Musikalien* (Leipzig: Anton Meysel, 1817), 535.

<sup>56</sup> The piece appeared in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 193–194. Fink's double role as both poet and composer of his songs must significantly have contributed to his reputation, as this seemed to guarantee the perfect unity of poem and melody that traditional lied aesthetics required. Cf. the review of Fink's second volume of *Volkslieder* in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 609–612 (quote 610).



# . D e r M o n d s c h e i n .

Sanft und leise getragen.

Gedicht und Musik von G. W. Fink.

Soprano I. Silberner, freundlicher Mon - denschein, wogender See — von Strah - len:

Soprano II. Silberner, freundlicher Mon - denschein, wogender See — von Strah - len:

Tenore. Silberner, freundlicher Mon - denschein, wogender See — von

Basso. Silberner, freundlicher Mon - denschein, wogender See — von

5 wie du durchflutest den schlafenden Hain, das kann kein Sterblicher ma - - - len!

wie du durchflutest den schlafenden Hain, das kann kein Sterblicher ma - - - len!

Strah - len: wie du durchflutest den schlafenden Hain, das kann kein Sterblicher ma - len!

Strah - len: wie du durchflutest den schlafenden Hain, das kann kein Sterblicher ma - len!

Schwankst durch die Räume am nächtlichen See,  
Zitterst, und labst dich an Tiefen;  
Und in dem Schilfe, da säuselt ein Weh,  
Gleich als ob Geister es riefen.

Wenn du so bädest, du traute Gestalt,  
Wird mir's, als eüh' ich dich wanken —  
Liebling, da fühl' ich die stille Gewalt,  
Möcht' in die Wellen versinken.

**Example 4.10** Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, “Der Mondschein,  
in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 13 (1811).

recommended readers to sing Angrisani’s works “instead of the canonic pieces, of which one has only very few that are true and melodic.”<sup>57</sup> Nägeli also believed that a canon should include *per augmentationem* and *diminutionem* imitations, or at least

<sup>57</sup> Anonymous review of Carlo Angrisani’s *Sei Notturmi a sole tre voci*, op. 2, in *AmZ* 1 (1798–1799), 573–574 (quote 573): “statt der Canonischen Sätze, deren man doch nur sehr wenig ächte und melodieuse hat.”

entries in another interval than the octave, to have any value for the musician; “whereas we can by no means let those little canonic sing-pieces pass for artworks that give the same impression to the ear as the turning of a wheel to the eye.”<sup>58</sup> Others pointed out that composers should use edifying maxims in their canons, rather than “such silly, dull stuff which they usually turn to.”<sup>59</sup> Of course, the most important thing such criticism tells us is that many dilettanti must have sung just this kind of simple canons; indeed, by the turn of the century the popularity of the genre was such that it regularly appeared on the operatic stage as well.<sup>60</sup> It is thus unsurprising that canonic writing also appeared in the partsong. The canonic handling of pairs of voices in Fink’s piece is especially intriguing, but the Eberwein brothers were also keen on spicing their partsongs with simple imitative structures: Max’s *Bacchanalien*-canons (1812) were praised for their ingenious combination of canonic writing with

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<sup>58</sup> Hans Georg Nägeli and Michael Traugott Pfeiffer, *Chorgesangschule* (Zurich, Nägeli, 1821), 34:

“Hingegen können wir jene canonischen Singsätzchen, die für das Ohr den Eindruck machen, welchen für das Auge das Herumdrehen eines Rädchens bewirkt, unmöglich als Kunstwerke gelten lassen.”

<sup>59</sup> Anonymous review of Johann Friedrich Reichardt’s *Goethe’s Lieder, Oden, Balladen und Romanzen*, vol. IV (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1811]) in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 371–376 (quote 374): “so albernes, plattes Zeug, woran sie sich gewöhnlich machen.”

<sup>60</sup> The best-known example is the Larghetto episode (*E nel tuo, nel mio bicchiero*) in the second-act finale of Mozart’s *Così fan tutte*, but by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century this practice had become ubiquitous: in 1812 Jan Ladislav Dussek’s simple canons were described as “belonging to a genre that the older terminology called *open* canons. The parts imitate each other in the octave, as one often hears and enjoys this in the newest operas.” See the anonymous review of Dussek’s *Sechs Canons*, 770: “sind von der Gattung, die die ältere Kunstssprache *offene* Canons nannte. Die Stimmen ahmen im Einklange einander nach, wie man dergleichen in den neuesten Opern oft hört und gern hat.”



accompanying homophonic chorus,<sup>61</sup> and of Carl Eberwein's *Sechs mehrstimmige Gesänge* (1818) no fewer than four are also canonic in one way or another.<sup>62</sup> But the arguably most telling document of the symbiosis – or indeed merging – of canons and partsongs is Friedrich Götzloff's *Mehrstimmige Gesänge* (1804), which does not include a single piece that one would today call a partsong proper: apart from the concluding solo lied, the collection features four canons (two for three, two for four voices).<sup>63</sup>

Even if canons could logically be labeled “songs in several parts,” it seems perplexing that the term “canon” also came to be used for any kind of simple partsong, whether canonic in structure or not. Admittedly, this usage was taken for an excess by many contemporaries as well. Around 1800 Benedict Hacker spoke of “four-part songs (or canons, as they are erroneously called by some),”<sup>64</sup> and as late as 1815 reviewers of the *AmZ* noted grudgingly about both Carl Blum's *Dreystimmige Canons* and Johann Heinrich Carl Bornhardt's *Sechs kleine Canons* that “most can be called

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<sup>61</sup> See the anonymous review of Max Eberwein's *Vierzehn Canons für Bacchanalien*, op. 15 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1812]) in *AmZ* 14 (1812), 96.

<sup>62</sup> Carl Eberwein, *Sechs mehrstimmige Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte oder der Guitarre* (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, [1818]).

<sup>63</sup> Friedrich Götzloff, *Mehrstimmige Gesänge mit Begleitung des Pianoforte*, op. 4 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1804]).

<sup>64</sup> Benedict Hacker, *Vierstimmige Gesänge ohne Instrumentalbegleitung für Männerstimmen* (Salzburg: Hacker, [c1800]), foreword. Quoted in Roland Schwalb, *Die Männerquartette Johann Michael Haydns nebst einem thematischen Katalog* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wien, 1972), 17: “4 stimmigen Gesänge (oder Canons, wie sie von Manchen irrig genannt werden).”

canons only if one takes the word in the very widest sense.”<sup>65</sup> Friedrich Franz Hurka, however, seems to have used the term more liberally; he published a volume of “Six German songs, or so-called canons.”<sup>66</sup> And by 1808 even the rather snobby *AmZ* published a review of Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari’s *Dodici canoni* in which the ambiguity of the term was discussed with hardly a critical edge:

The word *canon* has assumed an ever wider and more uncertain meaning, the more the thing itself has for some time again been recalled into the amateur world, and especially into the cheerful, convivial [*gesellschaftlich*] circle, where one does not take things so exactly and strictly anyway. [...] In what sense some of the most recent, and also some of the present songs for several voices, are called canons, can hardly be determined any longer, since of the canon proper they only have the casualness. These here, with but few exceptions, are *Terzetten* interwoven with easy imitations, whereby the voices alternate agreeably, but the [parts’] successive alternating entries are motivated much less by the nature of the melody than by the composer’s voluntary

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<sup>65</sup> See the review of Blum’s *Dreystimmige Canons mit Begleitung der Guitarre*, op. 5 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1815]), in *AmZ* 17 (1815), 526–527 (quote 526): “Canons können die meisten nur heissen, wenn man das Wort im allerweitesten Sinne nimmt.” Almost the very same words appear three months later in the review of Bornhardt’s *Sechs kleine Canons für 3 Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1815]), in *AmZ* 17 (1815), 759: “Canons heissen sie nur im allerweitesten Sinne des Worts.”

<sup>66</sup> Friedrich Franz Hurka, *Sechs deutsche Gesänge, oder sogenannte Canons, für drei Stimmen* [before 1805]. Cf. Georg Thouret, *Katalog der Musiksammlung auf der königlichen Hausbibliothek im Schlosse zu Berlin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895), 109.

layout. That is why a freer, figured accompaniment proved necessary as well, and the composer has sometimes even added interludes to the song, which stand in no contrapuntal relationship whatsoever to the main subject.<sup>67</sup>

I opened this chapter with a discussion of Reichardt's *Lieder geselliger Freude*, and it seems only fitting to return to him in conclusion. Reichardt was not only one of the first to advocate secular partsong singing around 1780, and in some sense the herald of the true dawn of the genre in the late 1790s, but also composed for his late Goethe and Schiller collections a number of partsongs that explore the

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<sup>67</sup> Anonymous review of Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari's *Dodici canoni coll' accompagnamento di Pianoforte*, in *AmZ* 10 (1807–1808), 633–635 (quote 633–634): “Das Wort *Canon* hat einen immer weitem und unbestimmtem Sinn angenommen, je mehr seit einiger Zeit die Sache selbst wieder in die Liebhaberwelt, und besonders in die heitern, gesellschaftlichen Zirkel zurückgerufen worden ist, wo man überhaupt die Dinge nicht eben genau und streng nimmt. [...] In welchem Sinne nun mehrere der neuesten, und auch mehrere der hier vorliegenden mehrstimmigen Gesänge, Canons heissen, lässt sich kaum noch bestimmen, da sie vom eigentlichen Canon nur noch das Zufällige haben. Diese hier sind, nur mit einigen Ausnahmen, Terzetten, mit leichten Imitationen durchwebt, wobey die Stimmen angenehm wechseln, das Nachtreten im Wechsel aber weit weniger in der Natur der Melodie, als in der freywilligen Anordnung des Komponisten begründet ist. Deshalb ist denn auch öfters ein freyeres, figurirtes Accompagnement nöthig geworden, und selbst Zwischensätze im Gesang, die mit der Hauptmelodie in gar keiner contrapunktischen Verbindung stehen, hat der Komponist zuweilen angebracht.” The reviewer also noted that Ferrari's pieces perfectly fulfilled the above convivial expectations, since they were in every respect “easy, flowing, natural and agreeable” (*leicht, fliessend, natürlich und angenehm*) – four adjectives that were regularly used in connection with similar publications.

aesthetic potential of the genre with a thoroughness that seems unique for its time. The significance of these works was recognized by Max Friedlaender, who praised Reichardt's "talent for atmospheric, simple, and yet intensive choruses,"<sup>68</sup> as well as several of his late songs wherein "the melody has a longer span, the expression gains in greatness, inwardness, and variety – more in the choruses, though, than the solo songs."<sup>69</sup> To best illustrate these characteristics, Friedlaender quoted in full a setting of Schiller's *Die Ideale*, which was published in 1810 in the first volume of Reichardt's anthology *Schillers lyrische Gedichte* (see Example 4.13).<sup>70</sup> Friedlaender succinctly remarked that this was "a chorus of great beauty,"<sup>71</sup> but for our purposes *Die Ideale* proves a particularly instructive example, because it appears in three different settings in the volume: the part-song is preceded by both an F-minor lied (which is the earliest of the three, since it appeared in the 1798 first volume of *Lieder der Liebe und der Einsamkeit*<sup>72</sup>), and another solo version, labeled *Neue Melodie*, in A-flat major (see Examples 4.11 and 4.12). Admittedly, Reichardt's intentions in publishing some of his lieder in different settings simultaneously are not always clear. Some unfriendly critics

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<sup>68</sup> Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. 1/1, 197: "seine Begabung für stimmungsvolle, einfache und doch eindringliche Chöre."

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 188: "die Melodie greift weiter aus, der Ausdruck gewinnt an Grösse, Innerlichkeit und Mannigfaltigkeit, – mehr allerdings in den Chören als den Einzelgesängen." Friedlaender adds (p. 189) that, while writing memorable melodies was certainly not Reichardt's strength, he sometimes did succeed in capturing the atmosphere of the text – especially in his choruses.

<sup>70</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Schillers lyrische Gedichte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1810).

<sup>71</sup> Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied*, vol. 1/1, 214: "Der vorliegende Chor ist von grosser Schönheit."

<sup>72</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Lieder der Liebe und der Einsamkeit zur Harfe und zum Clavier zu singen* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer der Jüngere, [1798]), 50.

### 3. Die Ideale

Langsam und edel

So willst du treu - los von mir schei - den, mit dei - nen hol - den Phan - ta -

- sien, mit dei - nen Schmerz - zen, dei - nen Freu - den, mit al - len un - er - bitt - lich

fliehn? Kann nichts dich Flie - hen - de ver - wei - len, o mei - nes Le - bens gold - ne -

Zeit? Ver - ge - bens, dei - ne Wel - len ei - len hin - ab ins Meer der Er - wig - keit.

*cresc.* *f* *dim.* *p*

**Example 4.11** Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “Die Ideale,” in *Lieder der Liebe und der Einsamkeit*, vol. I (1798).

#### 4. Die Ideale Neue Melodie

So willst du treu - los von mir schei - den mit dei-nen hol - den Phan - ta -

- sien! mit dei-nen Schmer - zen, dei - nen Freu - den, mit al-len un - er - bitt - lich

The musical score is written for voice and piano. The key signature has three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The vocal line is in the treble clef, and the piano accompaniment is in the bass clef. The lyrics are in German and are written below the vocal line. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and single notes in the right and left hands.

**Example 4.12** Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “Die Ideale (Neue Melodie),”  
in *Schillers lyrische Gedichte*, vol. 1 (1810).

# **Example 4.12 (Continued)**

8

fliehn! Kann nichts dich Flie - hen - de ver - wei - len, o mei - nes

11

Le - bens gold - ne Zeit! Ver - ge - bens, dei - ne Wel - len

14

ei - len hin - ab ins Meer der E - wig - keit, hin -

17

- ab ins Meer der E - wig - keit.



## 5. Die Ideale

**Langsam und gehalten**

2 Diskante

Tenor und Bass

*p*

So willst du treu - los von mir schei - den, mit dei - nen

*p*

So willst du treu - los von mir schei - den, mit dei - nen

3

hol - den Phan - ta - sien, mit dei - nen Schmer - zen, dei - nen

*cresc.* *pf*

hol - den Phan - ta - sien, mit dei - nen Schmer - zen, dei - nen

*cresc.* *pf*

6

Freu - den, mit al - - - len un - - - er - bitt - - - lich

*f* *cresc.* *ff*

Freu - den, mit al - - - len un - - - er - bitt - - - lich

*f* *cresc.* *ff*

10

fliehn! mit al - - - len un - - - er - bitt - - - lich

*p* *cresc.* *f* *ff*

fliehn! mit al - - - len un - - - er - bitt - - - lich

*p* *cresc.* *f* *ff*

14

fliehn! Kann nichts dich Flie - hen-de ver - wei - - - len, o mei - nes

*p* *cresc.*

fliehn! Kann nichts dich Flie - hen-de ver - wei - len, o mei - nes

*p* *cresc.*

fliehn!

*p* Kann nichts ver - wei - len, o mei - nes

[2.] Die kaum zu kei - men,

[3.] Der süs - se Glau - be,

**Example 4.13** Johann Friedrich Reichardt, “Die Ideale,”  
in *Schillers lyrische Gedichte*, vol. I (1810).



### Example 4.13 (Continued)

The musical score consists of three systems, each with a piano (p) and vocal (ff) staff. The lyrics are in German and are written below the vocal staff.

**System 1 (Measures 17-19):**

17 Le - bens gold - - - - - ne - Zeit! Ver -

18 Le - bens gold - - - - - ne - Zeit! Ver -

19 Le - bens gold - - - - - ne - Zeit! Ver -

**System 2 (Measures 20-22):**

20 - ge - bens, dei - ne Wel - len ei - len hin - ab ins Meer der

21 - ge - bens, dei - ne Wel - len ei - len hin - ab ins Meer der

22 - ge - bens, dei - ne Wel - len ei - len hin - ab ins Meer der

**System 3 (Measures 23-25):**

23 E - wig - keit, hin - ab ins Meer der E - - - wig - keit.

24 E - wig - keit, hin - ab ins Meer der E - - - wig - keit.

25 E - wig - keit, hin - ab ins Meer der E - - - wig - keit.

went so far as to suggest that “Reichardt seems to be unable to throw away anything *he* has once written,”<sup>73</sup> but it seems likely that he viewed such parallel settings as different, but on their own terms perhaps equally successful, realizations of the poem. In any case, some of the parallel settings in *Schillers lyrische Gedichte* could not be sung directly from the score (because one had to turn pages between the music and the full text of the poems), which may suggest that the composer’s goal was in part to allow the reader to compare the different settings *in abstracto*, as it were, and to

<sup>73</sup> Anonymous review of Reichardt’s *Schillers lyrische Gedichte* in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 24–30 (quote 27): “R[eichardt] scheint [...] ausser Stande zu seyn, etwas, das *Er* einmal geschrieben, wegzuwerfen.” (It should be noted that this comment is not made about the three settings of *Die Ideale*, but Reichardt’s two versions of *Lied der Freude*.)

contemplate their differences. Be that as it may, the three versions of *Die Ideale* represent three different approaches to the text, and their sequence in the volume – whether it indeed reflects the chronology of the two major-mode versions or not – appears to outline a progression from eruptive desperation toward acquiescent resignation. The text plausibly lends itself to either interpretations:

<i>So willst du treulos von mir scheiden</i>	So, you faithlessly want to leave me,
<i>Mit deinen holden Phantasien,</i>	With your charming fantasies,
<i>Mit deinen Schmerzen, deinen Freuden,</i>	With your sorrows, with your joys,
<i>Mit allen unerbittlich fliehn?</i>	Flee away pitilessly with all these?
<i>Kann nichts dich, Fliehende, verweilen,</i>	Can nothing [make] you, fugitive,
	linger longer,
<i>O meines Lebens goldne Zeit?</i>	Oh! golden time of my life?
<i>Vergebens, deine Wellen eilen</i>	In vain, your waves are rushing down
<i>Hinab ins Meer der Ewigkeit.</i>	To the sea of eternity. <sup>74</sup>

While much of the strophe reflects frustration over the loss of the ideals of youth, the last line somewhat unexpectedly offers a fixed point in the general demise by its reference to eternity. Nevertheless, the first setting (Example 4.11) appears to take little notice of this: the F-minor key creates a dark atmosphere, and the soprano's impetuously rising and descending phrases suggest at the beginning that she is

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<sup>74</sup> Liszt's symphonic poem of the same title was also inspired by Schiller's poem. Apart from the added word "fugitive" (line 5) and the substitution of "leave" (line 1), I reproduce Vera Micznik's translation in "The Absolute Limitations of Programme Music: The Case of Liszt's 'Die Ideale'," *Music & Letters* 80 (1999), 207–240 (quote 236).

struggling to accept her defeat. Accordingly, even though Reichardt marks the piece *Langsam und edel*, the dynamics remain hectic throughout the song, and the memories of *goldne Zeit*, as well as the painful *vergebens* are set as desperate cries protesting the inevitable.

As if responding to the first, the second version (Example 4.12) is set in the relative A-flat major, and is arguably faster than the *langsam* F-minor piece; even its C meter could be read as a “more balanced” reaction to the 3/4 of its predecessor. This time the opening phrase also suggests a rather light-hearted atmosphere with its scalewise melodic anacrusis, continuous accompaniment, and somewhat arietta-like phrasing that brings about a full cadence on the dominant as early as m. 4; the ensuing immediate fall back to E flat is followed by a varied repetition of the entire phrase. (By contrast, the F-minor lied had no strong closure until the pathetic half cadence in m. 8, and preceded this with smaller-scale repetitions that implied intense thrust instead of self-assured symmetry.) Only in the prolonged E-flat dominant in mm. 8–12 does the A-major piece touch on the minor-mode pathos that dominated the F-minor version; this move turns the whole dramaturgy upside down, since this is the passage of text that prompted a “relieved” excursus to the relative major in the earlier setting. Hence it seems tempting to interpret this A-flat major version – intriguingly written for contralto voice<sup>75</sup> – as Reichardt’s “taking back,” as it were, the first version for soprano. If one read the F-minor piece in terms of Freud’s *Trauerarbeit* as an expression of yearning, anger, and eventual depression, the A-flat major lied might represent regression to an earlier phase, namely complete denial of the loss – as if the

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<sup>75</sup> The voice part is described as written “Für den Contra-Alt” in the table of contents of the first edition (the F-minor setting is meant “für den Sopran,” while the third version “für’s Chor”).

singer were whistling in the dark in an effort to deflect her own thoughts from those beloved ideals gone forever.

Furthering the analogy, the third setting (Example 4.13) may be read as evoking the final result of the mourning process: acceptance. Reichardt returns to the *langsam* tempo of the F-minor lied, but adds the word *gehalten*, which both implies a loftier style and a more guarded behavior. Indeed, the 4/2 meter, the piano dynamics, and the rather peaceful progression of chords at the beginning all remind one of the reserved neutrality of Reichardt's "true church music"; even the word "faithlessly," uttered with such passion in the F-minor piece, receives no special emphasis. In addition, the key is again different here (incidentally, the dominant of the second version's A-flat major), and Reichardt noted as early as 1774 that, "in slow tempo, the E-flat major tonality seems to me to have the character of *consolation*, just as it has much splendor in fast movements."<sup>76</sup> Finally, the effect of these musical characteristics is strongly enhanced by the fact that this setting is intended not for solo voice, but for four parts; hence the text appears to describe less the one-time experience of a single individual than the primeval wisdom of a collective – potentially mankind itself. As Walter Salmen has suggested, it is primarily this "objectivation in the We-expression" that raises the third setting above the other two,

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<sup>76</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, s. n., 1774), reprint (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1977), vol. 1, 60: "denn der Ton *Es dur* scheint mir in langsamer Bewegung den Charakter des *Trostes* zu haben, so wie er in geschwinden Sätzen viel Pracht hat."

and allowed Reichardt to attain “the true mean in lied composition.”<sup>77</sup> If so, the composer’s efforts were not in vain: while searching for the music that could fit Schiller’s lost ideals, he succeeded in finding an ideal voice for the partsong as such, a genre he must rightly have felt his own through much of his life.

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<sup>77</sup> Walter Salmen, *Johann Friedrich Reichardt: Komponist, Schriftsteller, Kapellmeister und Verwaltungsbeamter der Goethezeit*, 2nd edition (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2002), 306: “eine Objektivierung in Wir-Ausdruck [...] Die wahre Mitte im Liedschaffen.”

## CHAPTER FIVE

# THE PATRIOTIC MALE CHOIR

### The Birth of the Male Quartet

In their 1808 biography of Michael Haydn, his former students Johann Georg Schinn and Franz Joseph Otter tell an interesting story about how the composer came to write his first male quartets. Haydn often visited Arnsdorf to see his close friend Werigand Rettensteiner, and

this parish priest now and then asked him for vocal trios, for he happened to have two musical curates, and three singers are easier found than four anyway. Haydn complied with the request of his friend, whom he surely did not deny anything; however, on another occasion he came with the fourth voice and, since the lied acquired thereby a complete rounding off and perfection, one did not want to know of trios any more.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [Johann Georg Schinn and Franz Joseph Otter], *Biographische Skizze von Michael Haydn* (Salzburg: May'sche Buchhandlung, 1808), reprint (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 2006), 23: "Eben dieser Pfarrer ersuchte ihn bisweilen um Terzette, weil er eben zwey musikalische Kapläne hatte, und ohnehin auch drey Sänger leichter, als vier, sich finden. Haydn willfahrte dem Wunsche seines Freundes, welchem er wohl nichts abschlug; allein, ein andersmal kam er mit der vierten Stimme, und da hierdurch das Lied eine völlige Rundung und Vollendung bekam, so wollte man von Terzetten nichts mehr wissen." As James Webster has pointed out (in personal communication) this "myth of origin" reminds one of a passage in Georg August Griesinger's 1810 biography of Joseph Haydn that describes the genesis of the first string quartets. Cf. Vernon Gotwals (ed.), *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits* (Madison, Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 13.

As Hans Jancik has argued, this occasional favor may possess some historic significance. For Michael Haydn seems to have been “the first to write such compositions with full intent,” and his series of contributions in fact “elevated these compositions to a new artistic genre.”<sup>2</sup> If so, one would be eager to know when this consequential event took place, but in this regard the evidence proves controversial. Michael Haydn’s tomb in the Salzburg St-Peters-Kirche is decorated with several slabs of stone that enumerate his most important compositions, and one of these reads:

Songs  
for 4 male voices  
1788—<sup>3</sup>

The fact that this is the only slab to bear a specific date is intriguing: apparently, the composer’s admirers were well aware already in 1821, when the tomb was erected, that Haydn could have claimed priority in this respect. Nevertheless, the relatively early date appears problematic, given that none of the numerous male quartet manuscripts that survive bears a date earlier than 5 January 1795. To be sure, Jancik suggests that Rettensteiner himself must have been asked about this issue in person; “it

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<sup>2</sup> Hans Jancik, *Michael Haydn: Ein vergessener Meister* (Zurich: Amalthea-Verlag, 1952), 182:

“Michael Haydn is der erste gewesen, der in voller Absicht Kompositionen dieser Art schuf.” Ibid, 184:

“und so diese Kompositionen zu einer neuen Kunstgattung erhob.”

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Roland Schwalb, *Die Männerquartette Johann Michael Haydns nebst einem thematischen Katalog* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wien, 1972), 5: “Gesaenge / zu 4 Maenner Stimmen / 1788—.”

is simply unthinkable that this man would have given, or sanctioned false information.”<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, scholars today will arguably be more open to the idea that even a pastor of unimpeachable character would have recalled the date somewhat imprecisely after more than three decades. In addition, the “myth of origin” recounted above – which certainly also originates with Rettensteiner – may even suggest a plausible explanation for the discrepancy between the two dates. Haydn may have started to visit Rettensteiner regularly and compose for him around 1788, which was but the beginning of a long process – implied by the dash after the date on the slab – that could eventually have culminated around 1795 in the composer’s first showing up with quartets. Indeed, Roland Schwalb has inferred that the few surviving trios could have been written between 1791 and 1795, thereby implying that the shift to quartets occurred only in the mid-‘90s.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever the chronology, the story related by Schinn and Otter does by no means suffice to call Michael Haydn the “inventor” of the male quartet. The term “invention” should evoke a daring act of innovation, whereas the narrative about Rettensteiner singing together with his two assistants, and Haydn eventually joining them rather suggests that these quartets were but an appropriate response to a specific performance situation. Besides, choral singing by men was arguably not as rare in the

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<sup>4</sup> Jancik, *Michael Haydn*, 183: “Es ist [...] einfach undenkbar, dass dieser Mann eine falsche Angabe gemacht oder eine solche sanktioniert hätte.”

<sup>5</sup> Schwalb, *Die Männerquartette*, 9. While Schwalb’s conclusions are mostly convincing, his statistical comparisons are suspect, for his coverage of the relevant sources is far from complete. Most importantly, Schwalb seems unaware of the dozens of partsong autographs that were acquired by the Esterházy family after Michael Haydn’s death and are now preserved in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest.



18<sup>th</sup> century as the apparent lack of a specialized repertory might suggest. Johann Friedrich Reichardt's 1781 collection *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer* may be unique in specifying male voices in the title, and also for including refrains for several parts, but the numerous choral refrains in Masonic lied collections were certainly intended for all-male performance as well.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time, Jancik's careful formulation that it was Haydn who "elevated these compositions to a new artistic genre," seems tenable. Haydn may have hit on the male quartet by chance, but the success of the first examples evidently inspired him to keep composing for this ensemble, and so he ended up creating a repertory large enough to establish the use of four male voices as a standard option. In but a few years Haydn's quartets came to be seen as a kind of Salzburg specialty,<sup>7</sup> and evidently inspired a number of other composers. Benedict Hacker admitted in one of his partsong publications that in his pieces he "wholly followed the beautiful models by Haydn,"<sup>8</sup> while Franz Schubert remarked as late as 1813 on the autograph of his *Dreifach ist der Schritt der Zeit* (D70) that the piece was an "Imitation in the manner

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<sup>6</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Frohe Lieder für deutsche Männer* (Berlin: Georg Ludewig Winters Wittwe, 1781). As regards the Masonic repertory, see Chapter 1.

<sup>7</sup> A traveler's report suggested as early as 1803 that visitors to Salzburg should spend an evening by listening to Haydn's four-part lieder in a garden. Quoted in Constantin Schneider, *Geschichte der Musik in Salzburg von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Salzburg: Verlag R. Kiesel, 1935), reprint (Hildesheim: Olms, 1977), 138–139.

<sup>8</sup> Benedict Hacker, *Vierstimmige Gesänge ohne Instrumentalbegleitung für Männerstimmen* (Salzburg, [c1800]), foreword: "Nur so viel sey gesagt, dass ich in dieser eigenen Art Composition ganz den schönen Vorbildern Haydns gefolgt bin." Quoted in Schwalb, *Die Männerquartette*, 17.

of Haydn.”<sup>9</sup> Hence it may not be amiss to take a brief look at one of Haydn’s male quartets; the lied *An unsern Garten* is typical (see Example 5.1). A copy of this partsong from Rettensteiner’s bequest is dated 2 September 1795, but the same collection includes a solo lied version as well, which was committed to paper a mere two days later. This chronology suggests that Haydn first composed the quartet and then arranged it as solo lied, but the opposite direction also seems to have been no rarity. Indeed, Hubert Mackinger has argued that, regarding Haydn’s oeuvre as a whole, the chronological distance between the “originals” and their “arrangements” is often so negligible that it seems misguided to insist on the precedence of one version or the other; such proximity may rather suggest that the composer had both forms in mind simultaneously.<sup>10</sup> In any case, Haydn’s male quartets are closely related to both his own solo songs and the contemporary *Klavierlied* repertory in general: the “substitution” of three male voices for the (mostly rather simple) keyboard accompaniment hardly ever has substantial aesthetic implications. Most of the lieder are in a major key, word paintings are sparing and precisely thereby effective (as in measures 5–6 and 10 of *An unsern Garten* that evoke the “high song of the birds”), and the texts are predominantly about nature – often domesticated as in “our garden” – or convivial gatherings.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> “Imitatio ad Haydni consuetudinem.” For a more detailed discussion of Schubert’s attitudes toward Michael Haydn’s partsongs, see Ulrike Aringer-Grau, “Im Gegenwärtigen Vergangenes – zu Schuberts Goethe-Vertonung in der Tradition des Männerquartetts von Johann Michael Haydn,” *Schubert-Jahrbuch* 2000–2002, 49–59.

<sup>10</sup> Hubert Mackinger, *Johann Michael Haydn: Studien zu den Sololiedern und den Solofassungen der mehrstimmigen Lieder* (diploma thesis, University of Salzburg, 2002), 31.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the overview of the topics of Haydn’s quartets in Schwalb, *Die Männerquartette*, 49.

**Angenehm**

Tenor I  
8 Ha! gleicht diess nicht dem Gar - ten, wo Gross - Va - ter A - dam

Tenor II  
8 Ha! gleicht diess nicht dem Gar - ten, wo Gross - Va - ter A - dam

Baritone  
8 Ha! gleicht diess nicht dem Gar - ten, wo Gross - Va - ter A - dam

Bass  
8 Ha! gleicht diess nicht dem Gar - ten, wo Gross - Va - ter A - dam

TI  
8 hau - ste, und bey der Vö - gel Hoch - ge - sang an - off - ner Ta - fel R.

TII  
8 hau - ste, und bey der Vö - gel Hoch - ge - sang an - off - ner Ta - fel R.

Bar.  
8 hau - ste, und bey der Vö - gel Hoch - ge - sang an - off - ner Ta - fel R.

B  
8 hau - ste, bey der Vö - gel Hoch - ge - sang an - off - ner Ta - fel R.

**Example 5.1** Michael Haydn, “An unsern Garten” (1795).

### Example 5.1 (Continued)

8

TI schmau - ste, und bey der Vö - gel Hoch - ge-sang an off - ner Ta - fel

TII schmau - ste, und bey der Vö - gel Hoch - ge-sang an off - ner Ta - fel

Bar. schmau - ste, und bey der Vö - gel Hoch - ge-sang an off - ner Ta - fel

B schmau - ste, und bey der Vö - gel Hoch - ge-sang an off - ner Ta - fel

12

TI schmau - ste, Ha! *p* an off - ner Ta - fel *f* schmau *p* - ste?

TII schmau - ste, Ha! *p* an off - ner Ta - fel *f* schmau *p* - ste?

Bar. schmau - ste, Ha! *p* an off - ner Ta - fel *f* schmau *p* - ste?

B schmau - ste, Ha! *p* an off - ner Ta - fel *f* schmau *p* - ste?

Although Haydn's male quartets gained great popularity, most contemporary commentators pointed out a flaw – or at least compositional difficulty – of the genre: the narrow range of the four voices. Not even Schinn and Otter could remain silent on the matter, although their account starts with the positive aspects:

The essential advantage of these songs rests among others eminently thereon that they are not written, like all *Gesellschafts-Lieder* published earlier, for the usual four voices, which are not always nor everywhere available on request, but for like voices – that is, either four male or [four] female voices. The difficult task in such a composition, in which the range of the tones can be at most F–a' or f–a'', will easily be seen by every connoisseur, especially if he takes into consideration that the first voice must maintain the melody, and must not be crossed by any of the others (which Haydn nonetheless allowed himself with happy results at some points), but [most of all] the bass must never be undermined. Let one judge Haydn's lieder according to these principles, and one will easily estimate their value as of the only ones of their kind.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> [Schinn and Otter], *Biographische Skizze*, 21: “Der wesentliche Vortheil dieser Gesänge beruht unter andern vorzüglich darin, dass sie nicht, wie alle früher erschienenen Gesellschafts-Lieder, für die gewöhnlichen 4 Singstimmen, welche nicht immer, noch überall, nach Wunsche zu haben sind, sondern für gleiche, – das ist, entweder 4 Männer- oder Frauenzimmer-Stimmen gesetzt sind. Die schwierige Aufgabe in einer solchen Composition, in welcher der ganze Umfang der Töne höchstens F – a' oder f – a'' seyn darf, wird jeder Kunstverständige leicht einsehen, besonders, wenn er in Betrachtung zieht, dass die erste Singstimme die Melodie beybehalten, und von keiner andern überschritten (was sich doch Haydn in manchen Stellen mit glücklichem Erfolge erlaubte), der Grundsatz aber nie untergraben

Indeed, if one takes a closer look at each of the parts in *An unsern Garten*, the voice-crossings seem all but inevitable: the melody moves between f# and a', both middle parts use the range c# to e', and the bass restricts itself to the octave between G and g. Accordingly, the middle voices constantly cross during the first phrase (mm. 1–4), and the third tenor descends below the bass in the first bar, but also rises above the soprano in the final cadence (mm. 15–16) to supply the fifth. To be sure, Haydn would probably have found the authors' objections against voice-crossings exaggerated and pedantic. But even if he had shared their reservations, he would no doubt have argued that there were many other factors in the interest of which a composer must unhesitatingly overstep the rules laid down in old textbooks.

In view of the unavoidable density of texture, it seems hardly surprising that – although male partsongs soon came to be written in ever increasing numbers – several composers seemed reluctant to squeeze four voices into the given range, instead of three as was customary in earlier operatic male choruses.<sup>13</sup> Leonhard von Call published numerous three-part lieder, and others in the North followed suit as well, Friedrich Schneider being the most prominent. His *Zwölf dreistimmige Gesänge für zwei Tenore und Bass*, published in 1809,<sup>14</sup> are significant not merely because they appear to have been among the first male partsongs composed in Northern Germany

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werden darf. Nach diesen Grundsätzen nun beurtheile man Haydens Lieder, und man wird ihren Werth – als den einzigen in ihrer Art – leicht ermessen."

<sup>13</sup> A widely known and arguably influential example was Gluck's effective use of the three-part male chorus in the first act of his *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779).

<sup>14</sup> Friedrich Schneider, *Zwölf dreistimmige Gesänge für zwei Tenore und Bass* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1809).

altogether, but also for setting a high artistic standard that few colleagues later equaled. The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (hereafter *AmZ*) welcomed the appearance of such a well-wrought collection; their review is quoted here in its entirety:

[What a] commendable contribution to the now so popular social entertainment of performing simple, but knowledgably and tastefully written, partsongs without accompaniment, and mostly only by male voices (for women can sight-read more seldom)! The texts are well chosen for this purpose, and are of very different character throughout; the music is inventive and properly worked out; everywhere it is very appropriate to the texts and fairly easy to perform even where the composer (as in no. 8) has treated his theme imitatively, or (as in no. 12) the parts canonically. One easily recognizes the practiced composer by the leading and register of the voices, although in some places, especially for the middle voice, still more could have been done in this respect; and the often very refined harmonic arrangement reveals the composer who is not wont to fish on the surface. – The small work is printed in parts.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Anonymous review in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* [hereafter *AmZ*] 12 (1809–1810), 288: “Ein dankenswerther Beytrag zu der jetzt so beliebten gesellschaftlichen Unterhaltung, einfache, aber mit Kenntniss und Geschmack geschriebene, mehrstimmige Gesänge, ohne Begleitung und meistens nur durch Männerstimmen, (weil die Frauen seltner vom Blatt treffen) auszuführen! Die Texte sind durchgängig zu solchem Zwecke gut gewählt und sehr verschiedenen Charakters; die Musik ist interessant erfunden und gehörig ausgearbeitet; sie ist dem Texte überall sehr angemessen, und durchgehends ziemlich leicht auszuführen, selbst da, wo der Componist (wie in No. 8.) sein Thema fugirt, oder (wie in No. 12.) die Stimmen canonisch behandelt hat. An der Führung und Legung der

This short paragraph reflects all of the critics' usual concerns. The opening expression of thanks for providing repertory to a praiseworthy practice is altogether typical, as is the following hint at the possibility – or rather requirement – that a lied be “simple” but nevertheless written “knowledgably and tastefully.” Equally characteristic is the brief discussion of the quality of the texts, as well as their relationship to the music, while the ensuing remark – or rather outright praise – that the music was “fairly easy to perform throughout” was often put in very similar terms.<sup>16</sup> Finally, to conclude with a few words about the layout of the publication, explain whether a full score was available and so forth, was also more the rule than the exception. (The lack of an – otherwise typical – final phrase about the quality of the print itself may imply that the reviewer was neither enthusiastic nor put off in this respect.)

On the other hand, the above passage includes less common-place but equally revealing remarks. The reviewer's hint that female voices might also perform lieder designated “for two tenors and bass” seems a rare exception (and is immediately balanced by disparaging of women's musical abilities). But the critic's remarks concerning the “inventive and properly worked out” music are even more unusual, for (see the previous chapter) partsongs were rarely found satisfactory from a sheerly

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Stimmen erkennt man leicht den geübten Musiker; obgleich in einigen Stellen, besonders für die Mittelstimme, in dieser Absicht noch etwas hätte gethan werden können; und die oft sehr gewählte harmonische Zusammenstellung verräth den Componisten, der nicht auf der Oberfläche zu fischen pflegt. – Das Werkchen ist in Stimmen gedruckt.”

<sup>16</sup> See, for instance, the review of August Harder's *Drey dreystimmige Gesänge für zwey Tenorstimmen und einen Bass*, op. 34 (Berlin: Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir, [1810]) in *AmZ* 13 (1811), 136: “Der Gesang ist überall sehr leicht auszuführen.”



**Allegretto**

**Tenor I**  
8 Wenn der hol - de Früh - ling la - chet, freut sich Wald und

**Tenor II**  
8 Wenn der hol - de Früh - ling la - chet, freut sich Wald und

**Bass**  
8 Wenn der hol - de Früh - ling la - chet, freut sich Wald und

**TI**  
4 8 Feld, und zu neu - er Lust - er - wa - chet die ent - schlaf - -- ne

**TII**  
8 Feld, und zu neu - er Lust - er - wa - chet die ent - schlaf - -- ne

**B**  
8 Feld, und zu neu - er Lust - er - wa - chet die ent - schlaf - ne

**TI**  
8 Welt. Wenn der Som - mer Ce - res Se - gen schnell zur Rei - fe

**TII**  
8 Welt. Som - mer Ce - res Se - gen schnell zur Rei - fe

**B**  
8 Welt. Som - mer Ce - res Se - gen schnell zur Rei - fe

**Example 5.2** Friedrich Schneider, “Wenn der holde Frühling lachtet,”  
in *Zwölf dreistimmige Gesänge für zwei Tenore und Bass* (1809).

### Example 5.2 (Continued)

12

TI 8 bringt, hüpf der Schnit - ter ihm ent - ge - gen, Lied und Si - chel

TII 8 bringt, hüpf der Schnit - ter ihm ent - ge - gen, Lied und Si - chel

B bringt, hüpf der Schnit - ter ihm ent - ge - gen, Lied und Si - chel

16

TI 8 klingt. Wenn der fal - be Herbst der Trau - ben

TII 8 klingt. Wenn der fal - be Herbst der Trau - - - ben vol - le Bee - ren,

B klingt. Wenn der fal - be Herbst der Trau - - - ben vol - le Bee - ren,

20

TI 8 vol - le Bee - ren füllt, dann schwärmt durch Ly - ae - ens Lau - ben nur der

TII 8 vol - le Bee - ren füllt, dann schwärmt durch Ly - ae - ens Lau - ben nur der

B vol - le Bee - ren füllt, dann schwärmt durch Ly - ae - ens Lau - ben nur der

# **Example 5.2 (Continued)**

**Andante sostenuto**

TI 24 8 Freu - de Bild. *p* wenn der Win - ter thür - met,

TII 8 Freu - de Bild. *p* wenn der Win - ter thür - met,

B 8 Freu - de Bild. A - ber *p* wenn der Win - ter thür - met, trau - et

TI 28 8 trau - ert je - de Flur, *ff* wenn er Schnee zu Ber - gen thür - met,

TII 8 trau - ert je - de Flur, *ff* wenn er Schnee zu Ber - gen thür - met,

B 8 je - - de Flur, *ff* wenn er Schnee zu Ber - gen thür - met,

TI 32 8 frie - ret die Na - tur, *p* frie - ret die Na - tur. *f*

TII 8 frie - ret die Na - tur, *p* frie - ret die Na - tur. *f*

B 8 frie - ret die Na - tur, *p* frie - ret die Na - tur. *f*

technical point of view. No. 11 of Schneider's collection (see Example 5.2) may serve as an example: "the leading and the register of the voices" – and especially their unusual agility – must indeed have required a "practiced musician," and the "very refined harmonic arrangement" results in a number of chromatic passages that prompt the question: who might have found it "fairly easy to perform." The coda-like slow section to the words "If the winter charges, every meadow is mourning, / if it piles up the snow in mountains, nature freezes" may prove tricky for the singers, and the listener remains in doubt whether the missing third of the final chord should be D flat or natural – this is indeed no "fishing on the surface."<sup>17</sup> At the same time, in mm. 7 or 11–12 one finds voice-crossings that may confirm that "especially for the middle voice, still more could have been done," and the "empty" fourth in m. 18 sounds equally problematic; the narrow range has taken its toll.

Even if the above review was typical, Schneider's part-writing was not, as is evident from another, slightly later lied for three male voices. Julius Miller's *Sechs dreystimmige Lieder für fröhliche Zirkel, für 2 Tenor- und 1 Bassstimme* appeared in 1812; its opening piece, titled "The women" (see Example 5.3), is more or less devoid of Schneider's learned ambitions.<sup>18</sup> This is not to say that *Die Weiber* would not be an effective piece on its own – convivial – terms. The opening is charmingly ambiguous: the dignified gravity of the bass may be understood as representing the "fathoming of

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<sup>17</sup> In this context it is worth pointing out that Schneider undoubtedly lived up to the promise of these early lieder, and was celebrated as late as 1855 as one of the most popular composers of male partsongs in Germany. See Otto Elben, *Der volksthümliche deutsche Männergesang, seine Geschichte, seine gesellschaftliche und nationale Bedeutung* (Tübingen: Laupp & Siebeck, 1855), 225.

<sup>18</sup> Julius Miller, *Sechs dreystimmige Lieder für fröhliche Zirkel, für 2 Tenor- und 1 Bassstimme*, op. 6 (Leipzig: Kühnel, [1812]).

Tenor I  
8  
Leich-ter ist's das Meer er - grün-den und den  
*p*

Tenor II  
8  
Leich-ter ist's das Meer er - grün-den und den  
*p*

Bass  
Leich - ter ist's das Meer er -

TI  
4  
8  
Stein der Wei-sen fin-den, leich-ter ist's das Meer er -

TII  
8  
Stein der Wei-sen fin-den, leich-ter ist's das Meer er -

B  
grün - den und den - Stein der

TI  
7  
8  
grün-den und den Stein der Wei-sen fin - den, als die Pfi-ffe zu ent -  
*f*

TII  
8  
grün-den und den Stein der Wei-sen fin - den, als die Pfi-ffe zu ent -  
*f*

B  
Wei - sen fin - - - den, als die Pfi-ffe zu ent -  
*f*

**Example 5.3** Julius Miller, “Die Weiber,” in *Sechs dreystimmige Lieder für fröhliche Zirkel* (1812).



### Example 5.3 (Continued)

10

TI 8 de-cken, zu ent-de-cken, als die Pfi-ffe zu ent-de-cken, zu ent-de-cken, *p* *f* *p*

TII 8 de-cken, zu ent-de-cken, als die Pfi-ffe zu ent-de-cken, zu ent-de-cken, *p* *f* *p*

B de-cken, zu ent-de-cken, als die Pfi-ffe zu ent-de-cken, zu ent-de-cken, *p* *f* *p*

13

TI 8 die in Wei-ber-köp-fen ste-cken, die in Wei-ber-köp-fen ste-cken. *p*

TII 8 die in Wei-ber-köp-fen ste-cken, die in Wei-ber-köp-fen ste-cken. *p*

B die in Wei-ber-köp-fen ste-cken, die in Wei-ber-köp-fen ste-cken. *p*

16

TI 8 Un-schuld prangt auf Stirn und Ba-cken, Un-schuld *p*

TII 8 Un-schuld prangt auf Stirn und Ba-cken, Un-schuld *p*

B Un-schuld prangt auf Stirn und Ba-cken, Un-schuld *p*

### Example 5.3 (Continued)

21  
8  
TI prangt auf Stirn und Ba - cken, doch, *f*

21  
8  
TII prangt auf Stirn und Ba - cken, doch der Schelm sitzt in dem *f*

21  
8  
B prangt auf Stirn und Ba - cken, doch der Schelm sitzt in dem *f*

25  
8  
TI doch der Schelm sitzt in dem Na - cken, der Schelm sitzt in dem Na - cken, und wer *p*

25  
8  
TII Na - cken doch, der Schelm sitzt in dem Na - cken, und wer *p*

25  
8  
B Na - cken doch, der Schelm sitzt in dem Na - cken, und wer *p*

28  
8  
TI ih - ren Wor - ten traut, hat auf lo - ckern Sand ge -

28  
8  
TII ih - ren Wor - ten traut, hat auf lo - ckern Sand ge -

28  
8  
B ih - ren Wor - ten traut, hat auf lo - ckern Sand ge -

### Example 5.3 (Continued)

TI 32 *ritardando*  
8 baut, und wer ih-ren Wor-ten traut, hat auf lo - ckern Sand ge - baut.

TII *pp* *ritardando*  
8 baut, und wer ih-ren Wor-ten traut, hat auf lo - ckern Sand ge - baut.

B *pp* *ritardando*  
baut, und wer ih-ren Wor-ten traut, hat auf lo - ckern Sand ge - baut.

the sea,” or the “finding of the philosophers’ stone,” while the gestures of the two tenors reflect how easy both these activities seem compared to the hopelessness of our efforts “to discover the tricks that lie in women’s heads.” At the same time, the radical contrast between the bass and the tenors might imply that the upper parts are making fun of the dignity of the bass’s philosophizing: the misogynistic thesis of the text is thus solemnly announced and taken back simultaneously. The unexpected C-major piano (from m. 16 on) for the phrase “innocence flaunts on [their] forehead and cheeks” is also a joy for the singers, while the double ornaments on “cheeks” (m. 19) restore the ironic distance to the meaning of the words. The closure is no less multilayered: the gasping rests from m. 30 on sound funny not merely through the exaggerated coda effect, but also because of the palpable representation of the falling of the “loose sand” on which one should not build by trusting women’s words.

Whether or not Miller’s compositions proved popular, regarding the partsong repertory in its entirety three-part writing started to yield to quartets by around this time. The shift was gradual: in 1810 were published both the popular August Harder’s



*Drey dreystimmige Gesänge für zwey Tenor-Stimmen und einen Bass*<sup>19</sup> and August Bergt's *Gesänge für zwey Tenor- und zwey Basstimmen*.<sup>20</sup> The following year J. M. Marx published a mixed volume including *Zehn Gesänge für 3 und 4 Männerstimmen*,<sup>21</sup> and from this point on male quartets had a clear advantage. Wilhelm Sutor published three *Lieder für zwei Tenor- und zwei Bass-stimmen*,<sup>22</sup> in 1812 Gottlob Benedict Bierey followed suit with *Sechs Gesänge für zwey Tenor- und zwey Basstimmen*,<sup>23</sup> as well as Johann Hall with a collection of *Zwölf Gesänge für zwey Tenor- und zwey Bass-Stimmen*,<sup>24</sup> and the first volume of his *Zwölf vierstimmige Lieder zum geselligen Vergnügen für zwey Tenöre und zwey Bässe*.<sup>25</sup> All this notwithstanding, as a reviewer of Schinn's partsong publications noted in 1812, "the number of those songs that can be performed without soprano and alto voices with

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<sup>19</sup> August Harder, *Drey dreystimmige Gesänge für zwey Tenor-Stimmen und einen Bass*, op. 34 (Berlin: Kunst und Industrie-Comptoir, [1810]).

<sup>20</sup> August Bergt, *Gesänge für zwey Tenor- und zwey Basstimmen*, op. 7, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Kühnel, [1810–1811]).

<sup>21</sup> J. M. Marx, *Zehn Gesänge für 3 und 4 Männerstimmen*, op. 6 (Bonn: Simrock, [1811]).

<sup>22</sup> Wilhelm Sutor, *Lieder für zwei Tenor- und zwei Bass-stimmen*, vol. II (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1811]).

<sup>23</sup> Gottlob Benedict Bierey, *Sechs Gesänge für zwey Tenor- und zwey Basstimmen* (Leipzig: Kühnel, [1812]).

<sup>24</sup> Johann Hall, *Zwölf Gesänge für zwey Tenor- und zwey Bass-Stimmen* (Munich: Falter, [1812]).

<sup>25</sup> Idem, *Zwölf vierstimmige Lieder zum geselligen Vergnügen für zwey Tenöre und zwey Bässe*, vol. I (Munich: Falter, [1812]).

harmonic effect is by no means great.”<sup>26</sup> The true vogue of four-part male partsongs commenced only after the establishment of regular choral groups from the late 1810s on.

### **The Liedertafel and the “Russian Connection”**

In the previous section I outlined how male trios and quartets gradually gained ground after around 1800. Nevertheless, the later history of the partsong cannot be understood as a simple continuation of this more or less spontaneous development: it was the institutionalization of male choral singing that invested the genre with a wholly new significance for much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first step in this direction was apparently taken by Carl Friedrich Zelter, who described his initiative in an oft-quoted letter to Goethe on 26–27 December 1808:

To celebrate the return of the king I have founded a *Liedertafel*: a society of twenty-five men, out of whom the twenty-fifth is the elected master, assembles once a month at a supper of two courses, and amuse itself with agreeable German songs. The members must be either poets, singers, or composers.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Anonymous review of *Sechs Gedichte von Gleim zu 3 Männerstimmen* and *Sechs Deutsche Gesänge zu 4 Männerstimmen* by Johann Georg Schinn, in *AmZ* 14 (1812), 449–450 (450): “die Anzahl jener Gesänge, die ohne Sopran- und Altstimmen, mit harmonischer Wirkung können vorgetragen werden, eben nicht gross ist.”

<sup>27</sup> Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Edith Zehm (eds.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1799 bis 1832* [Johann Wolfgang Goethe Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens. Münchner Ausgabe, vol. XX/1] (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1991), 206–207: “Zur Feier der Wiederkunft des Königes habe ich eine *Liedertafel* gestiftet: Eine Gesellschaft von 25 Männern, von

The fact that Zelter underlined the word *Liedertafel* is no coincidence: the term was newly coined by him in imitation of *Tafelrunde*, the German name of King Arthur's famous round table. The connection between the two "tables" may have been based primarily on Zelter's desire to celebrate the return of the king, but his optimism proved futile: Frederick William III did not return to Berlin until January 1810. In any case, Zelter's zeal to highlight his royalist motivations should not obscure the point that the *Liedertafel* was primarily a convivial club with cultural, rather than political ambitions. As Hermann Kuhlo has noted, similar groups flourished all over Berlin at the time, and Zelter himself was a member of both the famous *Montagsklub* and the so-called *Mittwochsgesellschaft*.<sup>28</sup> The *Liedertafel* itself convened on Tuesdays for the simple reason that the *Singakademie*, to which all the *Liedertaflers* belonged, had its weekly rehearsal that afternoon, and the monthly "song-table" seemed a convenient way to continue the gathering in a less formal environment.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the gatherings

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denen der 25ste der gewählte Meister ist, versammelt sich monatlich einmal bei einem Abendmahle von zwei Gerichten und vergnügt sich an gefälligen deutschen Gesängen. Die Mitglieder müssen entweder Dichter, Sänger oder Komponisten sein."

<sup>28</sup> See Hermann Kuhlo, *Geschichte der Zelterschen Liedertafel von 1809 bis 1909* (Berlin: Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, 1909), 17–18.

<sup>29</sup> While the *Singakademie* itself originated in a convivial "sing-tea" in 1791, by around this time it counted well over two hundred members, and Zelter had to invest much work to prevent it from resolving into a *Singtee* yet again. (Cf. his letter to Goethe on 23–24 August 1807 in Ottenberg and Zehm [eds.], *Briefwechsel*, 161.) In this light, the foundation of the *Liedertafel* may reflect a deeper psychological need on Zelter's part to recreate the kind of convivial atmosphere that rehearsals of the *Singakademie* could no longer provide him with.

were meant to allow for rather heavy drinking, therefore the members prudently chose to meet on the Tuesday closest to the full moon, so that the often tipsy participants could find their way even in the middle of the night in the as yet rather poorly lit Prussian capital.<sup>30</sup> Although the licentious dinners of the *Liedertafel* may recall those chance gatherings of friends that supported the culture of convivial singing throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the organization had fairly strict rules. Most importantly, the number twenty-four – which resulted from doubling the size of Arthur’s round table<sup>31</sup> – could not be exceeded, which provided the group with a rather exclusive character. In addition, the fact that only “poets, singers, or composers” could be admitted, while the costs of participation proved affordable only for the wealthier among these, assured that membership would remain a privilege of the most illustrious burghers of the city.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, the *Meister*, the “table-master” (*Tafelmeister*), and the secretary (*Schreibmeister*) were all freely elected by the members – a democratic practice that may have been borrowed from the Masonic tradition, or the newly introduced French government of the city.<sup>33</sup> This kind of relative democracy –

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<sup>30</sup> See Wilhelm Bornemann, *Die Zeltersche Liedertafel in Berlin, ihre Entstehung, Stiftung und Fortgang* (Berlin: Verlag der Deckerschen Geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerey, 1851), xii. See also the detailed minutes of a typical meeting in Peter Nitsche, “Die Liedertafel im System der Zelterschen Gründungen,” in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1980), 11–26 (quote 20).

<sup>31</sup> See Kuhlo, *Geschichte der Zelterschen Liedertafel*, 20.

<sup>32</sup> The musical writer Johann Philipp Schmidt, for one, had to leave the club due to financial reasons. See Kuhlo, *Geschichte der Zelterschen Liedertafel*, 35–36.

<sup>33</sup> The latter connection seems all the more likely, since in 1806 Zelter himself was elected a member of Berlin’s *comité administratif*.

available only for a carefully filtered elite – proved characteristic of the *Liedertafel* throughout the following decades, and prevented it from exerting a wider influence across Germany, at least from an organizational point of view: many of the countless later *Liedertafel* furthered the Berlin tradition only in name, but were grounded in the more inclusive *Liederkrantz* model proposed especially by Hans Georg Nägeli.<sup>34</sup>

Whilst the *Liedertafel* has become permanently linked with Zelter's name, much of what we know about the group comes from an 1851 monograph on "The Zelterian *Liedertafel* in Berlin, its origins, foundation, and progress" by another founding member of the group, Wilhelm Bornemann.<sup>35</sup> Admittedly, Bornemann's account must be taken with a grain of salt, partly because he relied on personal memories decades after the event, but equally so due to his obvious effort to claim the *Liedertafel* as his own after Zelter's death.<sup>36</sup> In doing so, he did not merely question Zelter's role in making the *Singakademie* a model for its time (and credit Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch with this achievement), but implied that Goethe's much-anticipated visit to the *Liedertafel* was impeded by Zelter's temper.<sup>37</sup> Hence it comes

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<sup>34</sup> The *AmZ*'s 1818 review of a publication simply titled *Leipziger Liedertafel* is particularly suggestive in this respect: as the critic noted, this *Liedertafel* was an altogether private enterprise, therefore he felt obliged not to publicly explain in any detail its organizing principles. See *AmZ* 20 (1818), 541–543 (quote 542).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. note 30.

<sup>36</sup> As Bornemann notes in obvious frustration, Zelter had always reserved himself the right to write the story of the *Liedertafel* – thereby withholding Bornemann from doing the work himself – but not even sketches remained of that long-planned study. See Bornemann, *Die Zeltersche Liedertafel*, xx–xxi and xxiv–xxv.

<sup>37</sup> Bornemann, *Die Zeltersche Liedertafel*, xiv and xix.

as no surprise that the very first paragraphs of Bornemann's book set out to demonstrate how the first instigation of male choral singing in Berlin arose during a conversation between the author and the exiled Frederick William III near Memel, several hundred miles away from Berlin and Zelter. As Bornemann explains, the king took great pleasure in listening to the four-part choruses of Russian soldiers, which seemed more decent than the songs of his own army in both musical and textual respects. Bornemann had also been deeply impressed by the Russian choirs, and on his return discussed with Zelter the chances of establishing something similar in Berlin as well. But at first his efforts proved in vain:

Zelter did not even want to admit [the possibility of] performing in tune a song, let alone a longer lied, by male voices alone, without any instrumental accompaniment. Even practiced singers will not fail to go flat. Experiments with lieder composed especially for this [purpose] have yet to be made, and for the time being the two of us agreed to keep the Memel incident secret until the convenient time, according to Zelter's own judgment, arrives.<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless, a farewell party soon provided the opportunity to implement Bornemann's plans. A beloved member of the *Singakademie*, Otto Grell, lost his

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<sup>38</sup> Bornemann, *Die Zeltersche Liedertafel*, viii: "Zelter wollte überhaupt nicht einmal die tonfeste Durchführung eines, nur von Männerstimmen, ohne alle Instrumental-Begleitung vorgetragenen Gesanges, oder gar eines längern Liedes zugeben. Selbst bei geübten Sängern werde das Herabsinken nicht ausbleiben. Gelegentliche Versuche, mit eigens dazu komponirten Liedern, seyen noch erst zu machen und einstweilen setzten wir unter uns fest, von dem Ereignisse bei Memel nichts weiter lautbar werden zu lassen, bis nach Zelters eigenem Ermessen die rechte Zeit dazu gekommen sey."

Berlin job, and decided to accept a chamber singer position at the Esterházy court in Eisenstadt. His friends organized a ceremonial dinner on 8 May 1808 to see him off, but the room they reserved was too small for the numerous singers, and so it proved impossible to fit in a keyboard. As was common, a guitar was brought along as substitute, but “forcefully fresh male voices set in, and the meager jingling vanished in the masses, which held themselves golden-purely in tune.”<sup>39</sup> This unexpected delight succeeded in breaking Zelter’s resistance.

I have already noted that Bornemann’s narrative should not be taken at face value. Nonetheless, the reception of his account seems oddly asymmetrical: while the story about Grell’s farewell party is cited everywhere without reservation, the possible (even if indirect) impact of Russian military choruses on the *Liedertafel* was rejected by Kuhlo, as well as later authors.<sup>40</sup> This is not the place to discuss the obvious nationalist agenda behind this tradition, but it may not be amiss to recall that the verisimilitude of Bornemann’s narrative is borne out by much of what we know of Frederick William III’s life-long interest in Russian male choruses. As a first step, he established a choir from the prisoners of war quartered in Potsdam in the fall of 1812. This group grew considerably later on, and its members were eventually given houses of their own in Alexandrowka, an outskirt of Potsdam that the king established in 1825 in memory of his deceased ally, Tsar Alexander I.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, in 1817 Frederick

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<sup>39</sup> Bornemann, *Die Zeltersche Liedertafel*, 10: “kräftig frische Männerstimmen setzten ein, und das ärmliche Geklimper verschwand in den Massen, die sich selber goldrein tonfest hielten.”

<sup>40</sup> See Kuhlo, *Geschichte der Zelterschen Liedertafel*, 21–22; Nitsche, “Die Liedertafel,” 15.

<sup>41</sup> See Bettina B. Altendorf, *Die russischen Sänger des Königs und die Kolonie Alexandrowka in Potsdam: Das Denkmal der Freundschaft zwischen Friedrich Wilhelm III. und Zar Alexander I. von Russland* (Berlin: Hendrik Bässler Verlag, 2004), 18–23.

William implemented a new liturgy for the Berlin and Potsdam garrisons, “in which the singing of the choir trained for this [purpose] is deployed more effectively than is the case in the usual Protestant service.”<sup>42</sup>

However, the growing popularity of Russian music primarily depended not on the predilections of a single monarch, but the ever more frequent encounters with the foreign people themselves. As the *AmZ* diagnosed in 1810, “[t]he Russian national songs have become familiar and popular in all Europe through the Russian army and their prisoners of war.”<sup>43</sup> Needless to say, the music these soldiers transmitted was consistently heard as exhibiting the same kind of primitiveness the Russians themselves appeared to manifest: naturalness, simplicity, even simplemindedness, or heartiness were categories often evoked to describe such folk melodies.<sup>44</sup> The choral singing of these soldiers, on the other hand, appeared partly to reveal the frightening, dark side of primitive people, as the following 1814 description of a Russian choir illustrates:

The chorus was twelve to fifteen men strong; two of them sang soprano, up to a<sup>2</sup>, even c<sup>3</sup>, though rough, but no falsetto voices proper; the others [sang] tenor

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<sup>42</sup> Anonymous report from Berlin in *AmZ* 19 (1817), 129–133 (quote 130): “in welcher dem Vocalgesang des dazu gebildeten Chors mehr Wirksamkeit gegeben wird, als dies bey dem gewöhnlichen protestantischen Gottesdienst der Fall ist.”

<sup>43</sup> See the anonymous report titled “Nachrichten: Königsberg” in *AmZ* 12 (1809–1810), 312–318 (quote 313–314): “Die russischen Nationallieder sind durch die russischen Heere und ihre Kriegsgefangenen in ganz Europa bekannt und beliebt geworden.”

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, the anonymous review of *Zehn russische Volkslieder* as arranged by C. Klage, in *AmZ* 16 (1814), 475–476.



and bass. Some, and especially two tenors, were soloists and seemed to count as virtuosi.

The number of their songs did not exceed eight, which they repeated again and again. Most began with a solo, usually for a single part, which seemed a variation of the melody, but the notes ran so fast and so fuzzily in a fluster that it was surely not possible to notate them; then the chorus entered in three or four parts, sometimes accompanied rather appropriately by a drum, and by screaming whistles produced through the teeth in a wholly peculiar way.

The force of these voices was admirable. Eight times this many of our German singers could hardly be able to yield such strength; and to shout so terribly for four, even six hours successively with short pauses in free, often raw, air was a joke for these Herculean singers. They often refreshed themselves with schnapps, and were boisterously merry in their performance.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> “Ueber russische Soldatenlieder,” *AmZ* 16 (1814), 515–518 (quote 515): “Das Chor war 12 bis 15 Mann stark; zwey davon sangen Sopran, bis zweygestr[ichenen] a, ja sogar bis dreygestr[ichenen] c, zwar rauh, doch keine eigentlichen Falsetstimmen; die Uebrigen, Tenor und Bass, Einige, und vorzüglich zwey Tenoristen, waren Solosänger und schienen für Virtuosen zu gelten. – Die Zahl ihrer Lieder erstreckte sich nicht über acht, die sie immer und immer wiederholten. Die meisten begannen mit einem, gewöhnlich einstimmigen Solo, welches eine Variation der Melodie zu seyn schien; die Töne liefen aber so schnell und undeutlich durcheinander, dass es nicht wol möglich war, sie aufzuschreiben; dann fiel der Chor drey- oder vierstimmig ein, bisweilen von einer Trommel, nicht ganz zweckwidrig, und einem gellenden, durch die Zähne auf ganz eigene Weise hervorgebrachten Pfeifen begleitet. – Bewundernswerth war die Kraft dieser Stimmen. Eine achtmal grössere Zahl unsrer deutschen Sänger würde eine solche Stärke kaum hervorzubringen im Stande seyn; und vier, auch bis

No doubt, for a thoroughly civilized German this was too much to take at one time. Still, if this educated musician, with all his obvious reservations regarding such a “performance,” could have been so deeply impressed by the Russian choir, the impact on less sharp-eared listeners might easily have been even stronger. In this light, it may not matter whether one believes Bornemann’s Memel story or not; the choral singing of Russian soldiers must have given many Germans a wholly new idea about what a male choir was capable of. Besides, the above description evidently presents a rather bellicose extreme, while everyday performances might have proved more accessible for refined German ears. An excellent example is the music that accompanied the “migration of the peoples” (*Völkerwanderung*) organized on 16 February 1810 in Weimar to celebrate the birthday of Princess Maria Pavlovna.<sup>46</sup> During the solemn procession of the characters that were to represent the different minorities of the princess’s homeland, Russian folksongs were sung by three male voices with German texts by Goethe. Example 5.4 presents a *Fest-Lied*, the first of three songs that were subsequently printed in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*. This piece must have attracted special attention at the feast due to its arranging *Schöne Minka*, by far the most popular Russian folksong in Germany at the time. The melody was used as

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sechs Stunden nach einander, mit kurzen Pausen, in freyer, oft rauher Luft, so furchtbar zu schreyen, war diesen herkulischen Sängern ein Spiel. Sie erquickten sich oft mit Schnaps und waren ausgelassen lustig bey ihrer Kunstübung.”

<sup>46</sup> For a detailed report, see “Die Völkerwanderung, und andere Maskenzüge aufgeführt zum Geburtsfeste von Ihro Kaiserl[ichen] Hoheit der Durchlautigsten Frau Grossfürstin Maria Paulowna, vermählten Erbprinzessin von Sachsen-Weimar am 16ten Februar 1810,” *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, April 1810, 201–210.



**Example 5.4** Anonymous, “Fest-Lied,” in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (April 1810).

theme for variations by countless composers: in 1816 a reviewer already spoke of “the indestructible *Schöne Minka*,”<sup>47</sup> another noted a year later that “[t]he *Schöne Minka*, as one sees, is still the order of the day,”<sup>48</sup> and Nägeli aptly summarized in 1820: “the *Schöne Minka*, of Russian origins, is again and again freshly decorated, and still found

<sup>47</sup> Anonymous review of *Deux airs russes [...] variés pour pianoforte* by Daniel Steibelt (Leipzig: Peters, [1816]), *AmZ* 18 (1816), 144: “die unverwüstliche ‘Schöne Minka’.”

<sup>48</sup> Anonymous review of Aloyse Schmitt, *Air, schöne Minka – avec Variations* (Offenbach: André, [1817]), *AmZ* 19 (1817), 51: “Die schöne Minka ist, wie man siehet, noch immer auf dem Tapet.”

beautiful by our musical florists.”<sup>49</sup> *Schöne Minka* could not have been omitted from any selection of Russian songs at the time, but the fact that it was arranged for three male parts seems equally characteristic: a men’s choir was obviously seen as something typically Russian. And the minor key must have conveniently confirmed another “exotic” expectation rarely missing from contemporary descriptions of this music, namely that “the Russians sing almost all their melodies in the minor.”<sup>50</sup>

I have discussed Russian soldiers’ choruses at some length because their potential influence on the rise of male choral singing in Germany has received insufficient attention in the earlier literature. Let me however briefly return to the *Liedertafel* itself, and describe its early repertory. While the group was a pioneer in organizing convivial singing in the form of an exclusive club convening regularly, the music performed was much less innovative. The majority of their first lieder were not choruses in the strict sense, but rather traditional *Rundgesänge* with choral refrains.<sup>51</sup> Zelter himself contributed several pieces to this genre, out of which *Ein Musikant wollt’ fröhlich sein* appears to have become a favorite (see Example 5.5). This song

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<sup>49</sup> Hans Georg Nägeli, “Anrede an die Schweizerische Musikgesellschaft,” *AmZ* 22 (1820), 769–779 (quote 776): “die *schöne Minka*, russischen Herkommens, wird, von unsern musikalischen Blumisten immer wieder frisch ausgeschmückt, noch immer schön gefunden.”

<sup>50</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Österreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, ed. Gustav Gugitz, vol. II (Munich: Georg Müller, 1915), 18: “die Russen fast alle ihre Melodien in der weichen Tonart singen.”

<sup>51</sup> See Heinrich Dietel, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte des Männergesanges* (Würzburg: R. Mayr, 1938), 34–36.

BASS solo

1. { Ein Mu - si - kant wollt' fröh-lich sein, es tät ihm wohl ge - lin -  
saß bei ei - nem gu - ten Wein, da wollt er lu - stig sin -

2. { Da - von setzt er ein Lied-lein klein, das tut er wohl be - trach -  
mi - schet gu - te Fu - gen ein, kein Mensch konnt's ihm ver - ach -

5 1. 2.

1. { gen, er - gen: be - kannt ist weit und breit der Wein ge - wach-sen hin und  
2. { ten, und - ten. Er dacht in dem Ge - mü-te sein: Ei, wä-ren tau-send

9 her am Rhein, macht fröh-lich mo - du - lie - - - - - ren, tut  
Kro-nen mein und al - le Jahr ein Fu - - - - - der Wein, und

5 TENOR I. II tutti

8 macht fröh-lich mo - du -  
das müß-ten gu - te

BASS I. II tutti

auch il - lu - mi - nie - - ren, macht fröh-lich mo - du - lie - - ren, macht  
al - le Jahr ein Fu - der Wein, das müß-ten gu - te Fu - gen sein, das

20 8 lie - - ren, macht fröh-lich mo - du - lie - - - - - gen -  
Fu - gen sein, das müß-ten gu - te Fu - - - - - gen

fröh-lich mo - du - lie - - ren, macht fröh-lich mo - du - lie - - - - -  
müß-ten gu - te Fu - gen sein, das müß-ten gu - te Fu - - - - - gen

Example 5.5 Carl Friedrich Zelter, "Ein Musikant wollt' fröhlich sein."



# Example 5.5 (Continued)

24

ren, sein, tut das auch muß - ten il - lu - mi - nie - - - - Fu - - - - gen

27

ren, sein, tut das auch muß - ten gu - te Fu - gen sein, ren, tut das  
 ren, sein, tut das auch muß - ten gu - te Fu - gen sein, tut das

31

il - lu - mi - nie - - - - ren. sein!  
 ja, gu - te Fu - - - - gen  
 auch muß - ten gu - te Fu - gen, gu - te Fu - - - - gen  
 auch muß - ten gu - te Fu - gen, gu - te Fu - - - - gen  
 auch il - - - - lu - mi - nie - - - - ren. sein!  
 gu - - - - te Fu - - - - gen, ja, Fu - - - - gen

opened the first collection of *Liedertafel* texts published in 1811,<sup>52</sup> and it has regularly been mentioned by later authors among the few pieces that became more widely known.<sup>53</sup> This seems hardly surprising: the bass solo may sound simple, but the pointless lingering on *modulieren* (mm. 11–14) – which should have evoked “the diverse and proper change of the tones in the course of the melody”<sup>54</sup> – is certainly hilarious, and even anticipates the rhyming *illuminieren* caused by Rhine wine. But the crux arrives with the fugal entry of the chorus (from m. 18 on), which presages the second strophe’s reference to the musician’s “admixing fugues” with his little lied, but inevitably comes as a shock out of the blue in the first strophe. Arguably, it was this gag that prompted Zelter in 1811 to invite Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano – from whose *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* the text was taken – to come and hear the piece at one of the “open” meetings of the *Liedertafel*.<sup>55</sup> As Bornemann reports,<sup>56</sup> the

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<sup>52</sup> *Gesänge der Liedertafel*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Georg Decker, 1811). In a letter to Goethe written in April 1810 Zelter described this lied as one of the most frequently sung in his *Liedertafel*. See Ottenberg and Zehm (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, 235.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Otto Elben, *Der volksthümliche deutsche Männergesang*, 218–219; Julius Bautz, *Geschichte des deutschen Männergesanges in übersichtlicher Darstellung* (Frankfurt am Main: Steyl & Thomas, 1890), 22; W. K. von Jolizza, *Das Lied und seine Geschichte* (Wien and Leipzig: Hartleben, 1910), 345.

<sup>54</sup> Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Kurzgefasstes Handwörterbuch der Musik für praktische Tonkünstler und für Dilettanten* (Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1807), 229: “Modulation. [...] die mannigfaltige und schickliche Abwechslung der Töne in dem Verfolge der Melodie.”

<sup>55</sup> As the preface to the expanded 1818 edition of *Liedertafel* texts explains, out of the yearly twelve meetings six was open to male guests as well, while women were allowed in only on rare occasions. See *Die Liedertafel* (Berlin, 1818), iv. The great number of open meetings evidently allowed some to participate in the activities of the *Liedertafel* with a certain frequency – Achim von Arnim, for one,

excellent bass solo by the professional singer Ludwig Hellwig, as well as the “fugue” of the chorus earned the usual calls for encore. Nonetheless, it was Bornemann’s own joke that stole the show, for he had secretly written two new strophes for the encore that described the Emperor’s response to the musician’s query. While this competition of gags reflects the relaxed atmosphere of the *Liedertafel* meetings, the imitative writing of the chorus here presents but a humorous exception, rather than opening “a new path” in the history of German male choral music (as has occasionally been suggested).<sup>57</sup>

### **Songs of a Nation**

If male voices gradually gained importance from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century on, this was no less true of *Nationallieder*, or *Nationalgesänge*. To be sure, the idea that the *lieder* of any nation could – and indeed should – express the character of the *Volk* they belong to was implicit in Herder’s work.<sup>58</sup> Nonetheless, the French Revolution appeared to

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became such a regular guest that in early 1811 he modeled his own Christian–Germanic Roundtable (including members like Heinrich von Kleist or Baron de La Motte-Fouqué) on Zelter’s club. See Hans Kohn, *Prelude to Nation-States: The French and German Experience, 1789–1815* (Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1967), 198–199.

<sup>56</sup> Bornemann, *Die Zeltersche Liedertafel*, 30–32.

<sup>57</sup> See Georg Schade, *Der Deutsche Männergesang: seine geschichtliche Entwicklung den deutschen Sängern erzählt*, vol. 1 (Cassel: A. Freyschmidt, 1903), 64.

<sup>58</sup> As Wilfried van der Will has summarized, Herder “believed that the distinctiveness of a national voice could best be demonstrated by the typical variety of folkpoetic artefacts that a language community was capable of producing. Hence he developed the idea of the uniqueness and difference of ‘national bodies’ and the excellence of their respective ‘national creations’”. Herder regarded the



put this idea into an altogether new context, and made many realize for the first time the immense political potential songs could possess. Mirabeau's thoughts may have proved especially influential in this respect, partly because the 1791–92 volume of *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* reprinted several of his relevant statements that elaborate on his main thesis: "All arts belong to the state. All are connected to the morals of the burghers, to the general education that turns the multitude of wild peoples into nations."<sup>59</sup> Expanding on this, in 1799 Johann Friedrich Christmann published "Some ideas about the spirit of French national lieder," where he demonstrated in detail how patriotic songs of the Revolution cemented together the nation by spreading ideas, and thereby creating a sense of community, even among the illiterate masses.<sup>60</sup>

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ordinary people as both the ferment of cultural creativity and the prerequisite of a national public and a sense of nationhood." See van der Will's "The functions of 'Volkskultur', mass culture and alternative culture," in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern German Culture*, ed. idem and Eva Kolinsky (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 153–171 (quote 155).

<sup>59</sup> See "Mirabeau's Antwort, als Präsident der Nationalversammlung, an eine Deputation von Theaterkomponisten," *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 1 (1791–1792), 134: "Alle schönen Künste gehören dem Staate an. Alle stehen in Verbindung mit den Sitten der Bürger, mit der allgemeinen Erziehung, die die Haufen wilder Völker in Nationen verwandelt." Similar statements by Mirabeau appeared on pages 25–26 and 102 of the same journal, no doubt reflecting the strong French sympathies of the editor Johann Friedrich Reichardt.

<sup>60</sup> Johann Friedrich Christmann, "Einige Ideen über den Geist der französischen Nationallieder," *AmZ* 1 (1798–1799), 228–236, 246–250, and 261–269. While Christmann enumerates a few earlier cases for such political use of lieder, he interestingly omits the one example he – a parish priest by profession – could have been the most qualified to discuss: the use of chorales in the time of reformation. For a brief

With this in mind, it seems easy to understand Carl Spazier's frustration that in 1800 Germans still did not possess "true national lieder that have only to be sounded to instantly excite the heart and mind of every German."<sup>61</sup> The situation, however, was not hopeless: in 1804 Christian Friedrich Michaelis suggested that some "peculiar songs and music pieces of the nation" could be taught even in childhood, thus ensuring "sweet attachment to the homeland, or patriotism [*Vaterlandsliebe*]."<sup>62</sup> A year later Friedrich Guthmann, too, insisted that children should be taught carefully chosen *Volkslieder*, which "would be etched in the youth's mind *early on*, and so remain in memory their whole life. This could be a not insignificant start to the general introduction of national songs, of which we Germans unfortunately have too few."<sup>63</sup>

These efforts notwithstanding, for some time it was to remain an open question what those peculiarly German *Nationalgesänge* should sound like. Ernst Ludwig Gerber, for example, confirmed in 1810 that "one cannot call *Volkslied* the re-

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overview of the latter topic, see the chapter "Luther, *Lieder* and the Power of Song" in Rebecca Wagner Oettinger's *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 36–50.

<sup>61</sup> Carl Spazier, "Einige Worte über deutschen Volkslied," *AmZ* 3 (1800–1801), 73–81, 89–94, 105–111 (quote 73): "echte Nationallieder [...] die nur angestimmt werden dürfen, um sogleich Herz und Sinn jedes Deutschen anzuregen."

<sup>62</sup> Christian Friedrich Michaelis, "Einige Gedanken über die Vortheile der frühen musikalischen Bildung," *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 117–126 (quote 120): "eigenthümlichen Gesängen oder Tonstücken der Nation [...] die süsse Anhänglichkeit an die Heymath, oder die Vaterlandsliebe."

<sup>63</sup> Friedrich Guthmann, "Noch ein Wort über Erziehung für Musik," *AmZ* 7 (1804–1805), 834–836 (quote 835): "Sie würden sich der Jugend *früh* einprägen und so das ganze Leben im Gedächtnisse bleiben. Diess dürfte ein nicht unwichtiger Anfang zur allgemeinen Einführung von *Nationalgesängen* seyn, woran es uns Deutschen, leider! mangelt."

humming of an operetta-aria,” but argued that the sorry picture Spazier had given was nevertheless unfounded:

he forgets, as others have forgotten, that for the Germans the *chorale* has in fact for centuries been a perfect and at the same time very beneficent surrogate for the *Volkslieder* of other nations; indeed, that it is actually a peculiar folksong – as it is also perfectly suited to [the Germans’] more serious character and deeper disposition.<sup>64</sup>

A year later Amadeus Wendt also suggested that in Germany the chorale “all but acts in place of the lacking national songs,”<sup>65</sup> but the increasing secularization of education had started to make this approach seem rather outdated. As Bernhard Christoph Ludwig Natorp insisted in 1807, “[o]f all [the lieder] one could chose, church songs are the least appropriate for children in the lower school,” primarily because “they are boring for the children, since they do not match their temper, and spoil singing at its

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<sup>64</sup> Ernst Ludwig Gerber, “Noch etwas über den Choralgesang und dessen Begleitung mit der Orgel,” *AmZ* 12 (1809–1810), 433–440 (quote 439–440): “man das Nachträllern einer Operetten-Arie keinen Volksgesang nennen kann. [...] er vergisst, wie Andere vergessen haben, dass gerade der *Choral* seit Jahrhunderten den Deutschen ein vollkommener und zugleich sehr wohlthätiger Ersatz für die Volkslieder anderer Nationen gewesen; ja dass er recht eigentlich eigenthümlicher Volksgesang ist – wie derselbe auch ihrem ernstern Character und tiefern Gemüth vollkommen entspricht.”

<sup>65</sup> Amadeus Wendt, “Betrachtungen über Musik, und insbesondere über den Gesang, als Bildungsmittel in der Erziehung,” *AmZ* 13 (1811), 281–287, 297–303, 317–324, 333–341 (quote 337): “beynahe die Stelle der fehlenden National-Gesänge vertritt.”

very beginning.”<sup>66</sup> Nägeli went so far as to suggest that children with no musical experience were still better disposed to singing than students who would only have studied chorales.<sup>67</sup> Viewed from this angle, the old church melodies seemed wholly inappropriate for the kind of early “imprinting” process Michaelis and Guthmann advocated.

If the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw an increased interest in national songs that could forcefully demonstrate the vitality and independence of German culture, the 1813 outbreak of the War of Independence seemed to reinforce the importance, as well as well as redefine the topics, of such *Nationallieder*. The Germans’ characteristic “Northern” belligerence, which in times of relative peace had to be vented in hunting,<sup>68</sup> now found a more practical target in the French army; the

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<sup>66</sup> See Natorp’s “Ueber die Organisation der niedern deutschen Schulen,” *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, Erziehungs- und Schulwesen* (1807); quoted in Reinhold Weyer, *Bernhard Christoph Ludwig Natorp: Ein Wegbereiter der Musikdidaktik in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1995), 128: “Die Kirchensänge sind unter allen, die man wählen mag, für die Kinder in der niedern Schule die unpassendsten [...] sie sind den Kindern langweilig, weil sie zu ihrem Naturell nicht passen, und verderben den Gesang in seinem ersten Anfange.”

<sup>67</sup> See Hans Georg Nägeli and Michael Traugott Pfeiffer, *Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen* (Zurich: Nägeli, 1810), 229.

<sup>68</sup> Such stereotypes had become generally known by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Charles de Secondat Montesquieu, for example, argued in Book 14 of his influential *De l’Esprit des lois* that “[i]n northern climates a strong but heavy machine, finds its pleasure in whatever is apt to throw the spirits into motion, such as hunting, travelling, war, and wine. In northern countries, we meet with a people who have few vices, many virtues, a great share of frankness and sincerity. If we draw near the south, we fancy ourselves removed from all morality.” See his *The Spirit of Laws: A Compendium of the First*

verb *jagen* is ubiquitous in the contemporary patriotic poetry.<sup>69</sup> Composers and music publishers were quick to follow the winds of change, and flooded the market with marches and programmatic battle fantasies for keyboard, all sorts of war, victory, and triumph songs, as well as larger-scale choral works in praise – or memory – of the heroes. Musicians in Prussia seemed especially invested in this patriotic repertory, and the key figure became Schlesinger in Berlin, who advertised his patriotic publications in a long list in the July 1814 issue of *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode*. Such prominence of Prussia is not surprising, when one recalls that the chauvinistic nationalism that was increasingly to dominate German history in the following decades was primarily the construct of Prussian intellectuals. While Basedow's 1770 *Methodenbuch* explained in a truly enlightened manner that patriotic songs were useful only in as much as they did not offend other nations,<sup>70</sup> Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's 1810 monograph already considered as an axiom that *Deutsches Volksthum* represented a primordially ordained force in the history of mankind.<sup>71</sup> Two years later Reinhold Bernhard Jachmann concluded from this that German students' education should approach perfect humanity only as long as this would not contradict their

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*English Edition*, ed. David Wallace Carrithers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 246–247.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, the numerous examples in the chapter *Für Soldaten, Landwehr- und Landsturmänner* of the 1815 edition of Rudolph Zacharias Becker's *Mildheimisches Liederbuch* (Gotha: Becker, 1815), reprint (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971), 499–518.

<sup>70</sup> See Auguste Pinloche, *Geschichte des Philanthropinismus*, German ed. J. Rauschenfels and author (Leipzig: Friedrich Brandstetter, 1896), 181.

<sup>71</sup> Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, *Deutsches Volksthum* (Lübeck: Niemann und Comp., 1810).

national preconditions,<sup>72</sup> and Ernst Moritz Arndt's patriotic poetry effectively propagated all these ideas in the society at large. Ironically, of course, all this zeal in part sprang from an obvious effort of the last to be first, since Prussia had been immune to German nationalism until 1806, when Napoleon defeated Frederick William III's army in the famous double battle of Jena and Auerstädt. Prior to this, as Hans Kohn has pointed out, Prussians' "[f]eeling of hostility toward a foreign country was directed against Austria," and "the idea of a community of interests with Austria and other German states against France was [...] alien to Prussia's statesmen and people."<sup>73</sup> Thus it was only the imposed Treaty of Tilsit – stripping of the country of about half its territory and population – that made Prussians reconsider who their true enemy was, and prompted their thinking of the as yet rather obscure notion of a "German nation" as a plausible guarantee of their cultural and political integrity.

That said, it would be misleading to reduce the post-1813 flow of patriotic war songs to an exclusively Prussian phenomenon. Albert Methfessel's *Sechs deutsche Kriegslieder*, for example, were composed and published in a small Thüringen town, Rudolstadt, but were ranked by contemporaries among the best of their kind.<sup>74</sup> The third piece in the collection, set to an anonymous "battle song" (*Schlachtgesang*) was praised in the *AmZ* for its simplicity and dignity, as well as the fitting imitation of

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<sup>72</sup> Reinhold Bernhard Jachmann, "Ideen zur National-Bildungslehre," *Archiv Deutscher Nationalbildung* 1 (1812), 1–45 (quote 15). Quoted in Jörg Echternkamp, *Der Aufstieg des deutschen Nationalismus (1770–1840)* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1998), 241.

<sup>73</sup> Hans Kohn, *The Mind of Germany: The Education of a Nation* (New York: Scribner, 1960), 71.

<sup>74</sup> Albert Methfessel, *Sechs deutsche Kriegslieder für eine und mehrere Stimmen, mit Chören und willkürlicher Begleitung des Fortepiano*, op. 35 (Rudolstadt: Hof- Buch- und Kunsthandlung, [1813]).

trumpets and Janissary instruments (see Example 5.6).<sup>75</sup> The reviewer of the *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode*, on the other hand, commended Methfessel's volume in general, stressing that "[m]elody and harmony are equally beautiful and intelligible, and therefore [these lieder] lend themselves particularly to *collective* [*allgemeine*] singing."<sup>76</sup> Such compliments had of course long been customary in assessments of (self-appointed) *Volkslieder*, but the practice of collective singing proved especially important with patriotic texts. As explored in Chapter 3, the entrance of the chorus was often viewed as a kind of conclusive *vox populi*,<sup>77</sup> and so composers were expected to fan the flames of patriotism by writing in so simple a manner that "an assembly of not wholly unmusical [people] can happily join at the refrain without further preparation."<sup>78</sup> The closing *Im Chor* passage of Methfessel's

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<sup>75</sup> Anonymous review in *AmZ* 16 (1814), 83–88 (quote 86).

<sup>76</sup> "Kriegslieder der Deutschen," in *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode*, April 1814, 238–239 (quote 238): "Melodie und Harmonie sind gleich schön und fasslich, und eignen sich daher vorzüglich zum *allgemeinen* Gesange." The composer himself expressed similar thoughts in his preface, arguing that he intended most of all to be noble and simple (*edel und einfach*), for it was these characteristics that were most likely to find favor with the *Volk*, and make these lieder popular everywhere.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the quotations in Chapter 3 at notes 106 and 107. See also Joseph Fröhlich's review of Friedrich Wilhelm Berner's *Opfergesang am Alter des Vaterlandes*, op. 10, according to which the prayer is sung "by the entire *Volk* (whose representative is the chorus)." *AmZ* 17 (1815), 229–232 (quote 230): "vom ganzen Volke (dessen Stellvertreter der Chor ist)."

<sup>78</sup> Anonymous review of Heinrich Anton Hoffmann, *Lobgesang auf die Retter Deutschlands, die allerhöchsten verbündeten Monarchen* (Bonn: Simrock, [1814]) in *AmZ* 16 (1814), 728: "eine Versammlung nicht ganz Unmusikalischer beym Refrain ohne weitere Vorbereitung fröhlich einstimmen kann."

**Example 5.6** Albert Methfessel, “Schlachtgesang,”  
in *Sechs deutsche Kriegslieder* (1813).



# Schlachtgesang.

Stark und lebhaft.

Stimme.

Der Himmel un-ser Hört!

Wert!

So

### Begleitung:

Ped.

Im Chor.

gehn wir Hand in Hand zum Kampf fürs Vaterland!

zum

Germanien ist erwacht!

Die Trommel ruft zur Schlacht;

Drum stürmet freudig drein!

Der Sieg muß unser seyn!

Sie ist noch nicht erschaffen,

Der Väter heil'ge Kraft.

!; Wer für die Freyheit ficht,

Scheut Tod und Wunden nicht! ;)

Example 5.6 (Continued)

Kampf fürs Vaterland!

Das Recht ist unser Schild!

Der Freyheit schönes Bild!

Glänzt durch den Pulverdampf!

Drum, Brüder, auf zum Kampf!

*Schlachtgesang* is a textbook example: the entering *Volk* can easily repeat the preceding phrase of the solo singer, while the addition of two lower voices effectively invests the confirmation of this crucial statement – “So we go, hand in hand, to the battle for the fatherland!” – with extra weight.

Given this preference for the (even if only symbolic) participation of the *Volk*, it seems little wonder that the burgeoning patriotic repertory abounded in *Rundgesänge*, and left considerably less room for partsongs proper. A highly attractive example nevertheless appears in Friedrich Heinrich Himmel’s *Kriegslieder der Teutschen* collection,<sup>79</sup> which was discussed together with Methfessel’s war songs in the *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode*. As the reviewer pointed out, the two publications belonged to two altogether distinct types: in contrast to Methfessel’s popular simplicity, Hiller excelled in gracefulness and originality, and so his lieder “are more suited for private use at the pianoforte than for *Volkslieder*.”<sup>80</sup> Indeed, Hiller’s setting of Collin’s *Siegeslied nach der Schlacht vom 2ten Mai 1813* (Example 5.7) makes a rather “unfolksy” impression with its four-bar keyboard introduction, as well as the menacingly repetitive intensification of mm. 9–10. Besides, this piece is somewhat irregular in using mixed voices in a war song, for this genre was typically understood as being sung by males (whether the singers were indeed soldiers, or

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<sup>79</sup> Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, *Kriegslieder der Teutschen* (Breslau: Joseph Max et Comp., 1813).

<sup>80</sup> “Kriegslieder der Deutschen,” *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode*, April 1814, 238–239 (quote 239): “Die Gesänge eignen sich jedoch mehr zum Privatgebrauch am Pianoforte, als zu Volksliedern.” This distinction fully corresponds to the rather different dedications of the two collections: whereas Methfessel intended his lieder “for all brave German soldiers” (*allen braven deutschen Kriegern*), Himmel dedicated his artful lieder to Friedrich Wilhelm, crown prince of Prussia.

**Example 5.7** Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, “Siegeslied nach der Schlacht vom 2ten Mai 1813,” in *Kriegslieder der Deutschen* (1813).

# Siegeslied nach der Schlacht vom 2ten Mai 1813.

von  
Collin.

19

*Feurig und majestätisch.*

*Feurig und majestätisch.*

*Vers 1.* Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 2. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 3. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 4. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 5. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 6. Der Sieg ist unser,

*Vers 1.* Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 2. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 3. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 4. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 5. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 6. Der Sieg ist unser,

*Vers 1.* Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 2. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 3. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 4. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 5. Der Sieg ist unser,  
— 6. Der Sieg ist unser,



## 6

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# Example 5.7 (Continued)

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The musical score is written for a vocal part (soprano) and a piano accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are in German and describe a scene of battle and triumph. The piano part features a rhythmic melody in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand. The vocal part enters with a strong, declarative phrase. The score is divided into two systems, each containing two staves. The first system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The second system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The lyrics are: flatter Fah-nen in die Luft, drum trommelt, schmettert, jauchzt und ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg! Feindes Plan, den Wahnsinn schuf, hin stürzt er von dem Ju - bel - ruf: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg! sei-nen Stu - fen gähnt die Kluft, dir, Feind! und Preuß' und Rus - se ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg! auf der Flucht durch Wald und Kluft beb' er, wenn noch der Teut - sche ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg! stürzt hin - ab den Feind zur Gruft; hoch freust du dich, wenn er dann ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg! Wehge - heul em - pör' die Luft, wenn Land zum Lan - de ju - belnd ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!

flatter Fah-nen in die Luft, drum trommelt, schmettert, jauchzt und ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 Feindes Plan, den Wahnsinn schuf, hin stürzt er von dem Ju - bel - ruf: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 sei-nen Stu - fen gähnt die Kluft, dir, Feind! und Preuß' und Rus - se ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 auf der Flucht durch Wald und Kluft beb' er, wenn noch der Teut - sche ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 stürzt hin - ab den Feind zur Gruft; hoch freust du dich, wenn er dann ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 Wehge - heul em - pör' die Luft, wenn Land zum Lan - de ju - belnd ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!

flatter Fah-nen in die Luft, drum trommelt, schmettert, jauchzt und ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 Feindes Plan, den Wahnsinn schuf, hin stürzt er von dem Ju - bel - ruf: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 sei-nen Stu - fen gähnt die Kluft, dir, Feind! und Preuß' und Rus - se ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 auf der Flucht durch Wald und Kluft beb' er, wenn noch der Teut - sche ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 stürzt hin - ab den Feind zur Gruft; hoch freust du dich, wenn er dann ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 Wehge - heul em - pör' die Luft, wenn Land zum Lan - de ju - belnd ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!

flatter Fah-nen in die Luft, drum trommelt, schmettert, jauchzt und ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 Feindes Plan, den Wahnsinn schuf, hin stürzt er von dem Ju - bel - ruf: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 sei-nen Stu - fen gähnt die Kluft, dir, Feind! und Preuß' und Rus - se ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 auf der Flucht durch Wald und Kluft beb' er, wenn noch der Teut - sche ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 stürzt hin - ab den Feind zur Gruft; hoch freust du dich, wenn er dann ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!  
 Wehge - heul em - pör' die Luft, wenn Land zum Lan - de ju - belnd ruft: der Sieg ist unser, unser ist der Sieg!

merely impersonating them, as it were, in performance). To be sure, a mixed chorus may seem wholly appropriate for a song celebrating victory *after* the Battle of Lützen, since women and children could at this stage join in with the triumphant army. Such exceptions, nevertheless, should not obscure the fact that the War of Liberation brought about wholesale emancipation of the male chorus, and transformed this formerly neglected genre into a popular mouthpiece of the nation as represented by its politically most active members. In the previous section I argued that this development may have drawn inspiration in part from encounters with Russian soldiers, whose choral singing seemed to express their extraordinary natural strength. At the same time, the general anxiety regarding the effemination of music may also have fed into this process. Guthmann complained in 1807 that most recent German *Kriegslieder* were “too long, too fashionable, and softish, partly too learned, and more [suited] for female voices than the forceful tenor and bass of the soldier.”<sup>81</sup> A year later Wendt also diagnosed that “the march itself, once a character piece of our nation, dissolves in tones of melancholy and tenderness,”<sup>82</sup> thus perpetuating the widespread belief that Germans’ military failure was somehow connected with their artistic and moral degeneration. In this light, the only way out seemed to be to return to the “true” masculine roots of the nation, thereby “fixing among the German warriors the

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<sup>81</sup> Friedrich Guthmann, “Forderungen an die militärische Musik,” *AmZ* 9 (1806–1807), 391–395 (quote 395): “Sie sind zu lang, zu modisch und weichlich, zum Theil zu gelehrt und mehr für Weiberstimmen, als für den kräftigen Tenor u[nd] Bass des Soldaten.”

<sup>82</sup> Amadeus Wendt, “Von dem Einflusse der Musik auf den Charakter,” *AmZ* 11 (1808–1809), 81–89, and 97–103 (quote 99): “selbst der Marsch, sonst ein Charakterstück unserer Nation, zerfließt in Tönen der Schwermuth und Zärtlichkeit.”



disposition with which one does not simply win, but is also truly worthy of winning, and then enjoying the peace.”<sup>83</sup>

### **Lützow’s Wild Hunt**

The primary goal of this dissertation has been to explore and contextualize the development of the secular partsong in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Accordingly, I sought above all to provide a broad intellectual background, and to complement the historical narrative with a rich sample from the little-known early partsong repertory. Inevitably, this approach has left relatively little place for detailed analysis of music examples, most of which were evoked to illustrate a typical phenomenon in the first place. In conclusion, therefore, I offer a case study of a single composition: Carl Maria von Weber’s *Lützows wilde Jagd*. If Graun’s *Auferstehungslied* was the first 18<sup>th</sup>-century *geistlich* partsong that survived into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Weber’s *Lützow* appears to have been the first secular piece – written more than five decades after Graun’s lied – to meet with such success. Needless to say, the enthusiastic reception was to a great extent due to Theodor Körner’s fiery nationalistic text, which seemed to preserve its validity for at least a century to come. Nevertheless, Weber’s male chorus is an outstanding composition in its own right, and was perhaps the single most influential lied in determining the later history of the partsong in general.

The genesis of “Lützow’s wild hunt” was closely connected to Berlin, the city where the *Liedertafel* ensured uniquely high performing standards. Weber was

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<sup>83</sup> This is the concluding phrase in the *AmZ*’s review of Methfessel’s *Kriegslieder* (cf. note 75): “jenen Sinn unter den deutschen Krieger zu befestigen, mit dem man nicht blos siegt, sondern auch zu siegen, und dann des Friedens zu geniessen, wahrhaft würdig ist!”

introduced to Zelter's group during his 1812 visit to the Prussian capital; he made friends with several of its members, and even set Bornemann's *Das Turnier-Bankett* (later published as op. 68 no. 1) for the chorus on 11 June. At the same time, his Berlin stay also gave him a foretaste of the nationalistic zeal that was as yet foreign to Southern Germany, and he was quick to contribute his due by setting Heinrich Joseph von Collin's *Kriegseid* for unison male choir. By the time of Weber's second visit to Berlin in August 1814, this zeal had reached unprecedented intensity: Napoleon had been defeated and exiled, the victorious troops were returning to Berlin amid lavish celebrations, and the capital eagerly awaited the arrival of the King and the Tsar from Paris (where the peace treaty had just been signed). In the midst of such political enthusiasm, Weber hardly managed to get his opera *Silvana* performed, and the audience inevitably found "this gentle piece of woodland medievalism" irrelevant.<sup>84</sup> It may partly have been this fiasco that convinced the composer that he, too, had to listen to the voice of the times. A week after his departure from Berlin he set *Lützows wilde Jagd* and another Körner poem, *Schwertlied*, for male chorus, and – as he reported to his friend Hinrich Lichtenstein – "immediately felt rather sorely that I was not in Berlin, where I could have rehearsed and heard them right away."<sup>85</sup>

Weber's choice of texts is hardly surprising. Körner's poems enjoyed extreme popularity at the time, partly due to the fact that the poet himself served under Adolf

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<sup>84</sup> See John Warrack, *Carl Maria von Weber*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 162.

<sup>85</sup> Letter dated 17 September 1814, quoted from Ernst Rudorff (ed.), *Briefe von Carl Maria von Weber an Hinrich Lichtenstein* (Braunschweig: George Westermann, 1900), 42: "Den 13ten habe ich zwei Lieder von Körner vierstimmig componirt und gleich recht schmerzlich gefühlt, dass ich nicht in Berlin wäre, wo ich sie hätte gleich probiren und hören können."

von Lützow in the famous *schwarze Schar*. To be sure, this “black multitude” for the most part consisted of poorly trained volunteers, owing to which – as Jörg Echternkamp has dryly noted – “[t]he military efficiency of the corps also converged to zero.”<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that Lützow’s troops admitted non-Prussian soldiers and included an unusually high number of intellectuals rendered the *schwarze Schar* a convenient symbol of the “pan-Germanic” popular insurrection, the strategic significance of which many felt eager to exaggerate after Napoleon’s defeat.<sup>87</sup> In addition, Körner himself fell in a battle near Gadebusch in August 1813, which at one blow made him (in Otto W. Johnston’s words) a “myth personified,” and effectively warded off any of criticism of his work.<sup>88</sup> The posthumous collection *Leyer und Schwert* that the poet’s father published in early 1814 saw no fewer than six editions in the following decade, and inspired countless musical settings as well, among others by Friedrich Wilhelm Grund, Anton Felix Beczwarzowsky, Friedrich Noack, C. E. Martini, and Carl Melchior Jakob Moltke.<sup>89</sup> To the sober-minded minority, this flood

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<sup>86</sup> Echternkamp, *Der Aufstieg des deutschen Nationalismus*, 218. “Die militärische Effizienz auch der Korps tendierte gegen Null.”

<sup>87</sup> See the chapter *Die Volkserhebung und die Kriegsfreiwilligen von 1813 bis 1814/15*, as well as the relevant statistics in Rudolf Ibbeken, *Preussen 1807–1813: Staat und Volk als Idee und in Wirklichkeit* (Cologne and Berlin: Grote, 1970), 393–439, and 441–450.

<sup>88</sup> See the chapter “Theodor Körner: The Myth Personified” in Otto W. Johnston, *The Myth of a Nation – Literature and Politics in Prussia under Napoleon* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, Inc., 1989), 143–157.

<sup>89</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Grund, *Sechs deutsche Lieder von Theodor Körner und LaMotte Fouqué*, op. 1 (Copenhagen, Magazin de Musique d’Arts et d’Instruments, [1814]). Anton Felix Beczwarzowsky, *Leyer und Schwerdt von Theodor Körner* (Berlin: Schlesinger, [1814]). Friedrich Noack, *Abschied vom*

of Körner settings proved redundant: when Gottfried Weber published his first *Leyer und Schwert* volume in early 1816, Johann Friedrich Rochlitz opened his – otherwise favorable – review by admitting that “[f]or some time surely all of us have had almost too much of lyres and swords.”<sup>90</sup>

With this in mind, Carl Maria von Weber’s decision to publish three volumes of *Leyer und Schwert* settings requires no comment. Nor was the idea to set six of the poems for male chorus unprecedented: the *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode* advertised “Lützow’s wild hunt by Theodor Körner for two tenors and two bases, with accompaniment of the pianoforte” by Peter Jacob Fournes as early as March 1814.<sup>91</sup> Admittedly, Fournes included keyboard accompaniment, whereas Weber wrote for a *cappella* chorus. This difference, however, is hardly of generic significance; not to mention that Weber’s boldness in this respect may simply have

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*Leben von Theodor Körner* (Leipzig, 1814). C. E. Martini, *Reiterlied von Th. Körner für 4 Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* (Breslau: Förster, 1815). Carl Melchior Jakob Moltke, *Gebet während der Schlacht* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1815).

<sup>90</sup> Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, review of Gottfried Weber’s *Leyer und Schwert*, op. 21 (Bonn and Cologne: Simrock, 1816) in *AmZ* 18 (1816), 295–300 (quote 295): “Seit einiger Zeit sind wol uns allen der Leyern und Schwerter fast viel geworden.” If less frequently, Körner’s poems kept being set to music in the ensuing peacetime; see, among others, C. C. Overweg’s *Drei Gesänge von Theodor Körner für vier Singstimmen mit Begleitung des Pianoforte* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1817), and Peter Lindpaintner’s *Gute Nacht! Ständchen von Theodor Körner für vier Singstimmen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1818).

<sup>91</sup> *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode*, March 1814, 161: “Lützow’s wilde Jagd von Theodor Körner für zwei Tenore und zwei Bässe, mit Begleitung des Pianoforte” (Leipzig: Hofmeister, [1814]). Unfortunately, my efforts to locate a copy of this piece have proved futile.

reflected the outstanding choral standards he encountered in Berlin. Indeed, a core member of Zelter's *Liedertafel*, Friedrich Wollank, published a male partsong titled "Call to the black multitude" in spring 1814 without instrumental support (see Example 5.8).<sup>92</sup> Considering that Wollank was no professional musician, his *Zuruf an die schwarze Schaar* is an effective piece: the D-minor first section finely demonstrates Nägeli's notion that in the male chorus "the sequence of chords takes more effect,"<sup>93</sup> while the resolving major-mode closure sounds resolutely uncanny for the words: "Beat, oh heart, high up; sparkle purple blood, / From the somber disgrace erupts the fervor of revenge."

Whether Weber would have come to know Wollank's partsong seems difficult to tell, although the close friendship of the two makes this rather likely.<sup>94</sup> In any case, Weber's own male choruses made most contemporaries forget about precedents, and in but a few years became classics of their genre. Already on 6 January 1815, when three of the Körner settings were first performed by sixteen male voices in Prague, the composer reported that they "created a furore, and were encored, something unheard

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<sup>92</sup> Friedrich Wollank, *Zuruf an die schwarze Schaar. In Musik gesetzt zum 4stimmigen Gesange* (Berlin: Schlesinger, [1814]).

<sup>93</sup> Hans Georg Nägeli, *Gesangbildungslehre für den Männerchor* (Zurich: Nägeli, 1817), ix: "mehr die Accordenfolge wirkt."

<sup>94</sup> Hinrich Lichtenstein named Wollank, Friedrich Ferdinand Flemming, and himself as Weber's closest Berlin friends. See Rudorff (ed.), *Briefe von Carl Maria von Weber*, 4. In 1823 Weber's op. 68 male partsongs (which included *Das Turnier-Bankett* mentioned above) even appeared with a dedication to Wollank.

**Example 5.8** Friedrich Wollank, “Zuruf an die schwarze Schaar” (1814).

Fest und mit Kraft.

Tenore I  $\text{mo}$  Einen tie-fen O-demzug und die Brüst ist frey! ach es preßte Lug und Trug faßt das Herz ent-zwey,

Tenore II  $\text{do}$  Einen tie-fen O-demzug und die Brüst ist frey! ach es preßte Lug und Trug faßt das Herz ent-zwey,

Basso I  $\text{mo}$  Einen tie-fen O-demzug und die Brüst ist frey! ach es preßte Lug und Trug faßt das Herz ent-zwey,

Basso II  $\text{do}$  Einen tie-fen O-demzug und die Brüst ist frey! ach es preßte Lug und Trug faßt das Herz ent-zwey,

wohl, es war der Hölle Macht, die uns rings um-gab, und wir sahn durch ö-de Nacht auf ein schmachvoll Grab. Schlag o Herz nun

wohl, es war der Hölle Macht, die uns rings um-gab, und wir sahn durch ö-de Nacht auf ein schmachvoll Grab. Schlag o Herz nun

wohl, es war der Hölle Macht, die uns rings um-gab, und wir sahn durch ö-de Nacht auf ein schmachvoll Grab. Schlag o Herz nun

wohl, es war der Hölle Macht, die uns rings um-gab, und wir sahn durch ö-de Nacht auf ein schmachvoll Grab. Schlag o Herz nun

hoch empor brause Purpur-blut, aus der dunklen Schmach hervor bricht der Ra-che Glut.

hoch empor brause Purpur-blut, aus der dunklen Schmach hervor bricht der Ra-che Glut.

hoch empor brause Purpur-blut, aus der dunklen Schmach hervor bricht der Ra-che Glut.

hoch empor brause Purpur-blut, aus der dunklen Schmach hervor bricht der Ra-che Glut.

1) bricht... der Ra-che Glut.  
2) Frei... heit fliegt vor an.  
3) ih... re Fah-nen wehn.

of here at a concert.”<sup>95</sup> The audience’s response was no less exalted at Weber’s Munich concert on 2 August, where *Schwertlied*, *Gebet*, and *Lützows wilde Jagd* were again sung by sixteen singers, even though this time only the last piece was repeated.<sup>96</sup> We also know of a 29 April 1816 Dresden concert, the two halves of which were concluded by a twenty-man-strong chorus performing “Sword-song” and “Lützow’s wild hunt,” respectively;<sup>97</sup> a month and a half later no fewer than forty male voices sung in Berlin the already “usual” three-lied cycle with *Gebet* functioning as a kind of slow interlude between *Schwertlied* and the – yet again encored – Lützow piece.<sup>98</sup> This enthusiastic reception made *Lützows wilde Jagd* a kind of national symbol – so much so that Weber cited it in his own cantata *Kampf und Sieg*, op. 44, in reference to the victorious Germans in general. In this light, it comes as no surprise that, while others’ Körner settings also gained certain popularity, Methfessel’s 1818 *Commersbuch* published both *Schwertlied* and *Lützows wilde Jagd* with Weber’s

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<sup>95</sup> See Weber’s letter dated 7 January 1815, in Werner Bollert and Arno Lemke, “Carl Maria von Webers Briefe an Gottfried Weber,” *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (1972), 7–103 (quote 67): “die Furore machten und Da Capo gerufen wurden, etwas hier in einem Concerte unerhörtes.”

<sup>96</sup> See two contemporary reports from the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* (18 August 1815), and the *Gesellschaftsblatt für gebildete Stände* (9 September 1815), both quoted in Robert Münster, “Carl Maria von Webers Aufenthalt in München 1815,” *Weber-Studien* 1 (1993), 52–82 (quote 59, and 65).

<sup>97</sup> See the concert’s review in *AmZ* 18 (1816), 387–388. While the anonymous contributor reported that neither lied made a great impression, it is noteworthy that both were obviously intended as culmination points at the end of each half of the concert program.

<sup>98</sup> See the review of the 18 June concert in *AmZ* 18 (1816), 498–499.



melodies.<sup>99</sup> And when Zelter sent a little motet to Goethe in June of the same year, the poet noted in disappointment that he was unable to collect enough singers in Jena to have it performed: “There are really nice voices among the young men here, and they do their things well in chorus as well. But what does not sound like *Lützows wilde Jagd*, interests no one at all.”<sup>100</sup>

The effective rhetorical arrangement of Körner’s text must certainly have been a factor in this historic partsong’s popularity:

<i>Was glänzt dort vom Walde im Sonnenschein?</i>	What glistens there in the forest sunshine?
<i>Hör’s näher und näher brausen.</i>	Hear it roaring nearer and nearer.
<i>Es zieht sich herunter in düsteren Reih[']n,</i>	It comes down this way in dark rows,
<i>Und gellende Hörner schallen darein,</i>	And blaring horns sound in it,
<i>Und erfüllen die Seele mit Grausen.</i>	And fill the soul with terror.
<i>Und wenn ihr die schwarzen Gesellen fragt:</i>	And if you ask the black fellows:
<i>Das ist Lützow’s wilde verwegene Jagd.</i>	That is Lützow’s wild daredevil hunt.

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<sup>99</sup> Albert Methfessel, *Allgemeines Commers- und Liederbuch mit Melodien, enthaltend ältere und neue Burschenlieder, Trinklieder, Vaterlandsgesänge, Kriegs- und Turnlieder* (Rudolstadt, Hof-Buch und Kunsthandlung, [1818]), 150–151, and 156–157.

<sup>100</sup> See Goethe’s letter dated 28 June 1818, quoted from Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Edith Zehm (eds.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1799 bis 1832* [Johann Wolfgang Goethe Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens. Münchner Ausgabe, vol. XX/1] (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1991), 539: “Es sind unter den jungen Leuten hier recht hübsche Stimmen und Chorweise machen sie ihre Sachen auch gut. Was aber nicht nach Lützows wilder Jagd klingt, dafür hat kein Mensch keinen Sinn.”

*Was zieht dort rasch durch den finstern Wald,*      What moves quickly there through the dark  
forest,

*Und streift von Bergen zu Bergen?*      And streaks from mountains to mountains?  
*Es legt sich in nächtlichen Hinterhalt;*      It settles down for a night ambush;  
*Das Hurrah jauchzt und die Büchse knallt,*      The hurray rejoices and the gun bangs;  
*Es fallen die fränkischen Schergen.*      The French bloodhounds fall.  
*Und wenn ihr die schwarzen Jäger fragt:*      And if you ask the black hunters:  
*Das ist Lützow's wilde verwegene Jagd.*      That is Lützow's wild daredevil hunt.

*Wo die Reben dort glühen, dort braust der Rhein,*      Where the grapes glisten there, there  
roars the Rhine;

*Der Wüthrich geborgen sich meinte;*      The scoundrel thought himself hidden.  
*Da naht es schnell mit Gewitterschein,*      Then it approaches quickly, looking like a  
thunderstorm,  
*Und wirft sich mit rüst'gen Armen hinein,*      And throws itself in with vigorous arms,  
*Und springt an's Ufer der Feinde.*      And springs onto the enemy's riverbank.  
*Und wenn ihr die schwarzen Schwimmer fragt:*      And if you ask the black swimmers:  
*Das ist Lützow's wilde verwegene Jagd.*      That is Lützow's wild daredevil hunt.

*Was braust dort im Thale die laute Schlacht,*      Why roars there in the valley the loud battle,  
*Was schlagen die Schwerter zusammen?*      Why do the swords strike one another?  
*Wildherzige Reiter schlagen die Schlacht,*      Wild-hearted riders attack the fight,  
*Und der Funke der Freiheit ist glühend erwacht,*      And the spark of freedom has awakened,  
glowing,  
*Und lodert in blutigen Flammen.*      And smolders in bloody flames.

<i>Und wenn ihr die schwarzen Reiter fragt:</i>	And if you ask the black riders:
<i>Das ist Lützow's wilde verwegene Jagd.</i>	That is Lützow's wild daredevil hunt.
<i>Wer scheidet dort röchelnd vom Sonnenlicht,</i>	What departs there, rattling, from the
	sunlight,
<i>Unter winselnde Feinde gebettet?</i>	Put to bed among whimpering enemies?
<i>Es zuckt der Tod auf dem Angesicht,</i>	Death twitches across the face;
<i>Doch die wackern Herzen erzittern nicht;</i>	Yet bold hearts do not waver,
<i>Das Vaterland ist ja gerettet!</i>	For the fatherland is indeed saved!
<i>Und wenn ihr die schwarzen Gefall'nen fragt:</i>	And if you ask the black fallen ones:
<i>Das war Lützow's wilde verwegene Jagd.</i>	That was Lützow's wild daredevil hunt.
<i>Die wilde Jagd und die deutsche Jagd</i>	The wild hunt, and the German hunt
<i>Auf Henkersblut und Tyrannen!</i>	Upon hangmen's blood and tyrants!
<i>Drum, die ihr uns liebt, nicht geweint und geklagt;</i>	Therefore, those who love us, no
	weeping and lamenting;
<i>Das Land ist ja frei und der Morgen tagt,</i>	For the land is free, and morning dawns,
<i>Wenn wir's auch nur sterbend gewannen!</i>	Even if we only won this by dying!
<i>Und von Enkeln zu Enkeln sei's nachgesagt:</i>	And from grandchildren to grandchildren
	be it said:
<i>Das war Lützow's wilde verwegene Jagd.</i>	That was Lützow's wild daredevil hunt. <sup>101</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> The German text is quoted after *Theodor Körner's sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., [1884]), 24–25. The English translation is taken from *Deutsche Lieder für Jung und Alt*, ed. Lisa Feurzeig (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2002), 95–96.

The first four stanzas describe the fights of Lützow's troops under different circumstances, strophe five announces the hard-won result of these battles ("The fatherland is indeed saved!"), while the final stanza fantasizes about how future generations will remember the heroes who sacrificed their lives for them. This logical construction does not merely forcefully draw the listener toward the conclusion, but relates the narrative to the well-known literary topos of the dead horsemen, best known from Gottfried August Bürger's 1773 ballad *Lenore*.<sup>102</sup> Körner's text, however, is no less effectively structured on the strophe level: several of the stanzas open with a question, keeping the listener on the tip of his or her toes until the (rather belated) answer – "That is Lützow's wild daredevil hunt" – arrives as refrain. This well-constructed "larger form" notwithstanding, Körner's poetry has more recently been blamed for its excessive simplicity bordering on the banal;<sup>103</sup> *Lützows wilde Jagd* in particular has been criticized by Otto W. Johnston for its incongruous meter, strained imagery, and lack of stylistic unity.<sup>104</sup> Susan Youens, however, has rightfully pointed out that Weber and other composers may easily have been more interested in the musical qualities of the poem: "The archetypal galloping rhythms of patriotic poetry,

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<sup>102</sup> Bürger wrote this ballad after a folk tale, and the lines that first raised his attention were precisely those describing the dead riding horses: *Der Mond scheint helle, die Toten reiten so schnelle, feins Liebchen, graut dir nicht?* Intriguingly, soon after completing *Lenore*, the poet started work on another, similarly eerie ballad, titled *Die wilde Jäger*.

<sup>103</sup> See, for example, Karla Höcker's *Oberons Horn: Das Leben von Carl Maria von Weber* (Berlin: Erika Klopp Verlag, 1986), 106.

<sup>104</sup> See Johnston, *The Myth of a Nation*, 152.

with their rattling, rapid-fire mixture of iambs and anapaests designed to incite frenzy and stir the blood, were perhaps never employed more forcefully than here.”<sup>105</sup>

Regarding Weber’s setting, I mention first Eduard Hanslick’s famous dictum about Karl Wilhelm’s *Die Wacht am Rhein*, according to which “[i]t is not musical worth that makes a lied popular, and elevates it to historical significance.”<sup>106</sup> Even if unwittingly, several commentators have applied Hanslick’s principle to *Lützows wilde Jagd* as well. Shortly after the end of World War I, Leopold Hirschberg insisted that “[i]t would be superfluous to try illuminate such works, which should be known by all like the Bible, from an artistic point of view.”<sup>107</sup> By contrast, Michael Leinert took a rather less nationalistic stance in 1978 by suggesting that “[w]e can consider these lieder as time-bound *Gebrauchsmusik*, without having to pay them more detailed attention.”<sup>108</sup> I would argue that both these approaches prove inappropriate in their over-Hanslickian separation of functionality and artistic value, since the technical

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<sup>105</sup> Susan Youens, *Schubert’s Poets and the Making of Lieder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 85.

<sup>106</sup> Quoted in Julius Bautz, *Geschichte des deutschen Männergesanges in übersichtlicher Darstellung* (Frankfurt am Main: Steyl & Thomas, 1890), 61: “Der musikalische Wert ist es nicht, was ein Lied populär macht und es zu historischer Bedeutung emporhebt.”

<sup>107</sup> Leopold Hirschberg, *Die Kriegsmusik der deutschen Klassiker und Romantiker: Aufsätze zur vaterländischen Musikgeschichte als Zeitbild zusammengestellt* (Berlin–Lichterfelde: Chr. Friedrich Vieweg G. m. b. H., 1919), 56: “Solche Werke, die wie die Bibel von jedem gekannt sein müssten, vom künstlerischen Standpunkte aus beleuchten zu wollen, wäre überflüssig.”

<sup>108</sup> Michael Leinert, *Carl Maria von Weber in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten dargestellt* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1978), 54: “Wir dürfen diese Lieder als aktuelle Gebrauchsmusik ansehen, ohne ihnen ausführlichere Beachtung schenken zu müssen.”

mastery, as well as originality of a piece can be among the several factors contributing to a song's popularity, even if they may not be the most important.<sup>109</sup> If so, Weber's setting should well deserve careful musical analysis, which may in turn cause it to be recognized as a masterpiece of its kind (see Example 5.9).

Weber takes all the obvious cues provided by Körner's text: he sets the poem as a musical hunt dominated by horn-like melodic phrases as well as harmonies, and plausibly adds a military tint by bringing a dotted rhythm for *düsteren Reihn* in m. 7 (I am discussing only the first strophe here). But what makes Weber's setting outstanding is his musical rendition of Körner's narrative strategy; the way he draws the listener in with the first line, and succeeds in holding his or her attention until the end.

As I have already hinted, at the beginning the poet himself pretends to be uncertain about what he is seeing: "What glistens there in the forest sunshine? / Hear it roaring nearer and nearer." Weber's music does not help us find the answer, for he writes a simple tonic chord of five full measures, and illustrates the approach of the yet unknown – as well as the growth of the listener's impatience – by gradually raising both the melodic pitches and the dynamics. The slowing down for the last two notes (*brausen* in mm. 4–5) is almost annoying – as if by now we were not all ears to learn

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<sup>109</sup> I use the term "over-Hanslickian," since Hanslick's above-quoted phrase (cf. note 106) is actually followed by a brief analysis of *Die Wacht am Rhein*, implying that the critic did consider Wilhelm's music a contributing factor to the piece's vast popularity, even if the poetic text, as well as the political context, seemed to him far more relevant. For this reason, Cecelia Hopkins Porter's more emphatic translation of Hanslick's phrase – "Musical worth *has nothing to do* with what makes a song popular" (my *Italics*) – appears to overstate the original argument. See her *The Rhine as Musical Metaphor: Cultural Identity in German Romantic Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), 13.

**Allegro molto**  
*p parlando*

1. Was glänzt dort vom Wal - de im  
2. Was zieht dort rasch durch den  
3. Wo Re - ben dort glü - hen, dort  
4. Was braust dort im Ta - le die  
5. Wer schei - det - de Jagd und die  
6. Die wil -

*p parlando*

1. Son - nen - schein? Hörs nä - her und nä - her  
2. fin - stern Wald und streift von Ber - gen zu  
3. braust der Rhein, der Wilt - rich ge - bor - gen sich  
4. wil - de Schlacht, was schla - gen die Schwerter zu  
6. Son - nen - licht, un - ter win - sein - de Fein - de ge -  
6. deut - sche Jagd auf Hen - kers - blut und Ty -

*cresc.*

1. Und wenn ihr die schwarzen fin - sel - len fragt,  
2. Und wenn ihr die schwar - zen Jä - ger fragt,  
3. Ar - men ihr die schwar - zen Schwimmer fragt,  
4. Und wenn ihr die schwar - zen Rei - ter fragt,  
5. Und wenn ihr die schwarzen Ge - fall - nen fragt,  
6. Und von En - keln zu En - keln seits nach - ge - sagt,

*pp*

1. brau - sen?  
2. Ber - gen?  
3. mein - te,  
4. sam - men?  
5. bet - tet?  
6. ran - nen.

*pp*

*cresc.*

1. di - ste - ren Reihn, und gei - len - de Hör - ner  
2. Hin - ter halt, das Hur - ra juchzt, und die  
3. wit - ter - schein, und wirft sich mit rüst - gen  
4. schla - gen die Schlacht, und der Fun - ke kern Frei - heit ist  
5. An - ge - sichts, doch die wak - kern Her - zen er -  
6. weint und ge - klagt! Das Land ist ja frei, und der

*cresc.*

1. schallen da - rein, er - fül - len die See - le mit Gra - sen.  
2. Ruch - se knallt, es fal - len die fröh - lich - schen Scher - gen.  
3. Ar - men hin - ein und springt ans U - fer der Fein - de.  
4. glühend er - wacht und lo - det in blü - ti - gen Flum - men.  
5. zit - tern nicht, das Va - ter - land ist ja ge - ret - tot.  
6. Hör - gen tigt, wenn wir auch nur ster - bend ge - win - nen.

*parlando*

1. Und wenn ihr die schwarzen fin - sel - len fragt,  
2. Und wenn ihr die schwar - zen Jä - ger fragt,  
3. Ar - men ihr die schwar - zen Schwimmer fragt,  
4. Und wenn ihr die schwar - zen Rei - ter fragt,  
5. Und wenn ihr die schwarzen Ge - fall - nen fragt,  
6. Und von En - keln zu En - keln seits nach - ge - sagt,

*parlando*

1 - 4. das ist Lüt - zows wilde, ver - we - ge - ne Jagd.  
5 u. 6. das war Lüt - zows wilde, ver - we - ge - ne Jagd.  
das ist,

**Example 5.9** Carl Maria von Weber, “Lützows wilde Jagd,” op. 42 no. 2 (1814).

what we were seeing. But the answer is postponed even further: in the following three lines of the poem we are only told that, whatever it is, “It comes down this way in dark rows, / And blaring horns sound in it, / And fill the soul with terror.” Körner’s poem increases the tension by allotting three lines to this depiction: the *ab* rhyme scheme of the opening two lines is followed here by *aab*, arguably suggesting that the narrator himself cannot suppress his excitement. Weber is up to the challenge: this time his music starts *pianissimo*, and reaches its dynamic highpoint for the rhyme *Grausen* (m. 11) after more than three bars of continuous crescendo. Besides, the harmonic motion is no more goal-oriented than in the first musical phrase; now the subdominant A-flat is prolonged for four full measures, and the listener only gains a hint of direction in m. 10, when the melody abandons its statically triadic motion and we arrive on the dominant B-flat major chord in m. 11. The preceding diminished seventh chord makes this half cadence very strong, while, from a structural point of view, it may of course be seen as in a way balancing the D-flat minor six-four chord that appeared in m. 7 to circumscribe the A-flat subdominant. (The appearance of this “purple patch” for the word “dark” is highly effective; Körner was careful enough to provide at this point similarly “fraught” expressions in most of the later strophes as well: *in nächtlichen Hinterhalt, Gewitterschein, schlagen die Schlacht* etc.) The strong dominant in m. 11 seems to promise the immediate arrival of the tonic and the long-postponed answer to the question in the first line of the poem, but the full bar of rest in m. 12 crushes the listener’s hopes of an “easy win” once again. (This slowing down, by the way, certainly recalls the unexpected “augmented” rhythm of *brausen* in mm. 4–5.) Furthermore, even the penultimate line merely revives and affirms the original question: “And if you ask the black fellows...” After having provided us with five bars of tonic in the first phrase, and four bars of subdominant in the second, Weber now adds three bars of dominant (which, together with the preceding half cadence and the



bar of rest, again amount to five measures). The “instrumentation” of this phrase is also brilliant: the unison easily expresses the universal demand to learn what it is that “glisten[ed] there in the forest sunshine” at the beginning, but by leaving out the second bass, Weber creates the possibility of a real question–answer dramaturgy. It is thus the dotted half notes sung by the second bass in mm. 16–17 that introduce – as well as, yet again, slightly postpone – the long-awaited answer, which arrives in m. 18 in the tonic, and once more evokes the sound of horns: “That is Lützow’s wild daredevil hunt.” However, the resolution is not perfect even in this final moment: the top voice closes on the third of the tonic, thereby creating a slight tension that all but forces us to return to the beginning of the music, and start the whole process all over again with the next strophe of the poem.

This compulsion to move on to the next strophe is all the more noteworthy in that Weber used a similar trick in his other outstandingly popular Körner chorus, *Schwertlied* (see Example 5.10). In this case, the first tenor reaches as high as the fifth of the tonic for the final “Hurrah,” and the inevitable return to the beginning is colored by a sobering major–minor shift. Equally intriguingly, this “Sword-song” is also related to *Lützows wilde Jagd* by its stirring rhythms and captivating conciseness, which further enhances the purposeful “incompleteness” of a single strophe. Indeed, the abrupt conclusion of “Lützow’s wild hunt” was found so unsettling by many that it soon became customary to repeat the last four bars as a kind of echo. This solution was not popular only among the uneducated masses: the *AmZ*’s 1818 review of Methfessel’s *Commersbuch* blamed the editor for omitting this retouch of Weber’s music, which in performance should make a very good impression.<sup>110</sup> Whether one

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<sup>110</sup> Anonymous review of Albert Methfessel’s *Allgemeines Commers- und Liederbuch*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Rudolstadt: Hof- Buch- und Kunsthandlung, 1818) in *AmZ* 20 (1818), 903–907 (quote 907). The

Kräftig

1. Du Schwert an mei - ner Lin - ken, was  
2. Mich trägt ein wak - krer Rei - ter, drum

3. Ja, gu - tes Schwert, frei bin ich, und  
4. Dir hab ichs ja er - ge - ben, mein

soll dein heit - res Blin - ken? Schaust mich so freundlich an,  
blink ich auch so hei - ter; hin frei - en Man - nes Wehr.

hab mei - ne Freu - de dran. Hur - ra, hurra, hur - ra!  
das freut dem Schwerte sehr.<sup>11</sup> Hur - ra, hurra, hur - ra!

als ei - ne lie - be Braut. Hur - ra, hurra, hur - ra!  
Wann holst du dei - ne Braut?<sup>12</sup> Hur - ra, hurra, hur - ra!

**Example 5.10** Carl Maria von Weber, “Schwertlied,” op. 42 no. 6 (1814).

shares this view or agrees with Hans Joachim Moser that the repeat “philistinizes” (*verspiessert*) Weber’s idea, it was the “echoed” form of the song that was sung throughout Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>111</sup> Nor was this popularity restricted to the melody: *Lützows wilde Jagd* was the first secular partsong to remain in the repertory of the male choral societies, and to see countless reprints in German choral anthologies well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While this reception makes Weber’s partsong

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reviewer’s arguing in favor of this repeat seems even more intriguing, since a page earlier he starkly criticized Methfessel for including a repetition of the last line in *Gaudeamus igitur*, which he condemns as “recent falsification” (*neuere Verfälschung*).

<sup>111</sup> Hans Joachim Moser, *Carl Maria von Weber: Leben und Werk* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1941]), 54.

an exceptional historical monument, *Lützows wilde Jagd* is no less an exceptional monument in German cultural history in general. As Ernest Renan famously argued,

[a] nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which cannot really be separated, constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is in the past, the other is in the present. One is the common ownership of a rich inheritance of memories; the other is the actual consensus, the desire to live together, the wish to make the most of what has been jointly inherited. A nation is, then, a great solidarity, constituted by an awareness of the sacrifices that have been made, and of the further sacrifices that are accepted in advance.<sup>112</sup>

If so, Weber's partsong may be seen as one of those "sounding memories" that constantly reminded Germans of their common sacrifice during the War of Liberation. Furthermore, by retelling together the story of "Lützow's wild hunt," members of the choral societies reaffirmed again and again not only their present unity, but also their will to found a common future on their shared historic memories. Partsongs like *Lützows wilde Jagd* thus proved instrumental in forging a German nation, and became symbols of its unity even before the 1871 foundation of the German Reich – but that would be a topic for another dissertation.

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<sup>112</sup> Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation?* (lecture at Sorbonne University, 11 March 1882). Quoted in Jacques Godechot, "The New Concept of the Nation and Its Diffusion in Europe," in *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution*, eds. Otto Dann and John Dinwiddy (London: Hambledon Press, 1988), 13–26 (quote 15).

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### **Chronological checklist of publications featuring partsongs**

(NB: Of the Austrian repertory, only items cited in the dissertation are given. With respect to publishers in Germany, the checklist includes several sources unmentioned in the text; however, it is not meant to be exhaustive.)

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